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ART. I.—TUDOR INTRIGUES IN SCOTLAND.

NOTWITHSTANDING the spy-system which was brought to such perfection under the Tudors, the study of human nature was yet in its infancy. The world had long ceased to be ingenuous, but nations had not yet learned civilized methods of guarding themselves against their enemies. At a time when distrust was general, it was simpler, like Machiavelli, to erect deceit and fraud into a science, and to teach the vile utility of dissembling, than to scrutinize character and weigh motives. It was generally understood that opponents might legitimately be hoodwinked to the limits of their gullibility; but it was reserved for Lord Chesterfield two centuries later, to show how a man's passions must be studied with microscopic intensity in order to discover his prevailing passion, and how, that passion once discovered, he should never be trusted where it is concerned. Thus, for want of insight into Margaret Tudor's character, the Scottish people were repeatedly betrayed by one, whose interests they fondly hoped had become by marriage with their King, identical with their own.

She had come among them at an age, when new impressions are quickly taken, and experiences of every kind are necessarily very limited, but to the end of her days, she remained an alien in their midst. From the moment that she had set

foot in Scotland, as a bride of thirteen, she had begun to sow discord; but although it was soon apparent that she would seize every occasion to turn public events to her own profit, James IV. had so mistaken a belief in her one day becoming a good Scotchwoman, that when he went to his death at Flodden Field, he left the whole welfare of his country in her hands. Not only did he confide the treasure of the realm to her safe keeping, but by his will he appointed her to the Regency, with the sole guardianship of his infant son. Such a thing was unprecedented in Scotland, and it needed all their fidelity to their chivalrous sovereign, as well as their enthusiasm for his young and beautiful widow, to induce the Scottish lords to tolerate an arrangement so distasteful to them all. Had Margaret cared to fit herself for the duties which lay before her, her lot might have been a brilliant one. Instead of the wretched wars which made a perpetual wilderness of the Borders, and kept the nation in a constant ferment, an advantageous treaty would have secured prosperity to both England and Scotland, while the various disturbing factions which rendered Scotland so difficult to govern by main force, would gradually have subsided under the gentle influence of a Queen who united all parties through the loyalty which she inspired. Fierce and rebellious as were so many of the elements which went to make up the Scottish people at that time, Margaret had a far easier task than her grand-daughter Mary Stuart, for, at least, fanatical religious differences did not enter into the difficulties she had to encounter. But such a Queen of Scotland, as would have claimed the respect and won the love of her subjects, was by no means the Margaret Tudor of history, as she stands revealed in her correspondence.

While James IV. lived, she had comparatively few opportunities for betraying State secrets, but from the disaster of Flodden to her death, her history is one long series of intrigues, the outcome of her two ruling passions, vanity and greed. Her first short-sighted act of treachery after the death of James, was to appropriate to her own use, the treasure he had entrusted to her for his successors, thereby incurring life-long retribution in her ineffectual attempts to wring her dowry



from an Exchequer which she had herself impoverished. Hence the tiresome and ridiculous quarrels in connection with her 'conjunct feoffment,' for besides other ungentle amenities, there was in Margaret, as in Henry Tudor, a grotesque element, arising from a total lack of the sense of humour. There was a denseness almost bucolic, in the stolid indifference to the effect they produced on the minds of others, with which the brother and sister pursued the tenour of their way, and which was perhaps the crowning similarity that made the one the counterpart of the other.

The eleven months which elapsed between the 9th September, 1513, to the 4th August, 1514, were the most eventful of Margaret's whole life. The catastrophe of Flodden left her, not perhaps without cause, the least mournful woman in Scotland, for James IV., with all the heroism that attaches to his name, had little claim to be called a faithful husband. Unhindered, therefore, by any excess of grief, she was the better able to attend to the affairs of state, and to hasten the coronation of her little son, a baby of one year and five months. In December, she convened the Parliament of Scotland, to meet at Stirling Castle, and formally took up her dignity as Regent, with the consent of the assembled nobles. At this sitting, the greatest unanimity prevailed. In the acts of the Privy Council of Scotland, under date 12th January, 1514, occurs the following entry: 'to advise of the setting up of the Queen's household, and what persons and officers are necessary thereto, and to advise of the expenses for the supportation of the same, and by what ways it shall be gotten.' All was peace for a short time, and the most friendly relations existed between Margaret and her Council, till the first high-handed attempt of Henry VIII. to interfere through his sister, in the government of Scotland, resulted in her temporary banishment, and the removal of the baby King from his mother's care.\*

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\* P. Martyr, Ep. 535. For a detailed account of the state of Scotland for the first nine years after the disastrous defeat at Flodden, see Vol. XIV. of the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, edited by George Burnett, LL.D., Lyon King of Arms, and A. J. G. Mackay, M.A. (Oxon.) LL.D. (Edin.) etc. Her Majesty's General Register House, Edinburgh.

On the 30th of April, Margaret gave birth to a posthumous son, who received the title of the Duke of Rothesay, and scarcely had she reappeared in public after the birth of this child, than an envoy from the Emperor Maximilian brought overtures of marriage. About the same time, she received a like proposal from Louis XII. of France; but sacrificing her ambition to her fancy, she dismissed both aspirants to her hand, and before the first year of her widowhood had run its course, she married Archibald Earl of Angus, Margaret being in her twenty-fifth, he in his nineteenth year. The alliance was equally unfortunate for Margaret herself and for her wretched husband, who when the first charm of novelty had subsided, was disdainfully flung aside, and never restored to favour. There was an ancient custom of the realm, which placed the executive power and the person of the King should he be a minor at the death of the preceding sovereign, in the hands of the next male heir, and the appointment of the King's widow to the regency, and to the guardianship of his son, was made in distinct disregard of all recognised tradition. The consent of the Scottish lords to the innovation, had been given entirely from a sense of loyalty to their beloved and unfortunate monarch, James IV. But a proviso had been made in his will, that in the event of the Queen's remarriage, the regency as well as the guardianship of the young King should pass to John Duke of Albany, the next heir to the throne. Margaret, who had not scrupled to make away with the royal treasure, was scarcely likely to be very conscientious with regard to the duty of laying down a sceptre, the pleasantness of which she had only just begun to taste. She was already at variance with her Council, who in despair of any order being established, had invited Albany, then in France, to come over, and take up the reins of government. As early as April, 1514, a bill for his recall had been read in Parliament, and it was formally enacted that all the fortresses in Scotland should be given up; a blow aimed primarily at Stirling, the Queen's chief stronghold.\* Here, she and Angus had shut themselves

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\* Brewer. Preface to Cal. 2, Part I. Note.

up, on hearing that Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, was marching upon Edinburgh. They were captured, but escaped and returned to Stirling, where they were besieged by John Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews.

Margaret, assuming a tone of injured innocence, wrote to Henry VIII., telling him that she and her party are in great trouble till they know what help he will give them, that her enemies continue to usurp the King's authority in Parliament, holding her and her friends rebels; and she entreats him to hasten his army against Scotland by sea and by land.\* This was clearly as much an act of treason as if she had deliberately invited any other foreign enemy to come and take possession of the realm, for although her object was merely to regain the powers she had lost by her own fault, she could estimate the ruin which would have resulted to Scotland, if Henry had really been in a position to invade the country. His answer to her appeal was to send the most urgent instructions to his sister to prevent Albany's landing by every means at her disposal. Meanwhile, she waited impatiently but in vain for either troops or money from Henry, who did not think it necessary to inform her that the French king had agreed to detain Albany in France, on condition that his dear cousin should send his sister no help, but leave the various parties in Scotland to fight out their differences alone. Margaret's position at last became intolerable, and she began, no less than her enemies, to look forward to the Duke's arrival, as a means of extricating herself from a labyrinth of difficulties. Francis, in spite of his promise to Henry, had no intention of preventing Albany, who was more than half a Frenchman, from assuming a dignity that would result in a strong bond of union between Scotland and France. He was therefore quietly allowed to escape, and, when after running the gauntlet of Henry's ships, he landed in Scotland, Margaret wisely resolved to be friends with him.† But Henry instructed Lord Dacre, the formidable

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\* Queen Margaret to Henry VIII., 23rd November, 1514. Cotton MS. Calig., B. I., 164. British Museum.

† Seb. Giustinian to the Doge. London, 5th August, 1515. Venetian Archives.

chief of the Marches, to stir up all the strife possible between her, the new regent and the Scottish lords, and whenever there was a sign of a better understanding between them, Dacre was always careful to insinuate that they would be far less true to her than her brother was.

Meanwhile Henry wrote to the Council requesting that Albany might be sent back to France at once. The reply of the assembled lords was as dignified as Albany's own conduct throughout, and in strong contrast to Margaret's attitude. They have, they say, received Henry's letter dated Greenwich, 1st July, 1516, desiring them to remove John Duke of Albany the Regent from the person of their King, in order to promote the amity of the two realms. The Duke was chosen Protector by the unanimous voice of the three Estates, was sent for by them from France, left his master, his lady, his living, has taken great pains in the King's service, has given, and proposes to give no cause for dissatisfaction, and if he would leave, they would not let him. Moreover, it is in exact conformity with their laws that the nearest in succession should have the governance; security has been taken by the Queen and others, to remove all cause of suspicion, and they will spend their lives if any attempt be made against his Highness.\*

This document was signed and sealed by twenty-eight lords, spiritual and temporal, whose names are still legible. Ten other names are mutilated beyond recognition, although the seals remain.

Albany had meanwhile written to Lord Dacre denying that he had usurped the King's authority, and declaring that he had done nothing but by order of the estates of the realm. But Henry was bent on picking a quarrel with him, and Dacre's letter to the King of England's Council shows the part he was instructed to play in the troubles of Scotland, fomenting feuds between Albany and every member of his government, in the hope of driving him out of the country.†

Difficult, however, as Henry's policy made it, the Regent was

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\* Scotch Lords to Henry VIII., 4th July, 1516. Record Office.

† Calig. B. II., 341. B. M.

determined to maintain peace, and would probably have succeeded but for Margaret.\*

The good understanding between them was broken by his summoning her to deliver up the royal children into his custody, a cruel but necessary proceeding, since the regency was considered inseparable from the governorship of the King and the next heir. A true and tender chord is struck at last, when the Queen, appealing to Henry, exclaims, 'God send I were such a woman as might go with my bairns in mine arms. I trow I should not be long fra you.' Nor is it possible to feel aught but sympathy for her, when she allows herself to be stormed in Stirling Castle, before she suffers her children to be torn from her. Dacre professed to believe, and perhaps caused Margaret to fear, that they would be destroyed if they fell into the Duke's hands. On the very day that Dacre wrote to Henry's Council, advising that money should be sent to enable her to hold out, the Regent prepared to bombard her, and it was not till her friends had forsaken her, flying for their lives and in terror of Albany's proclamation, that placing the keys of the fortress in her little son's hands, she desired him to give them to the Regent, and to beg him to show favour to himself, to his brother, and to her husband. The Regent answered that he would be good to the King, to his brother and to their mother, but that as for Angus, he 'would not dalye with no traitor.'†

No sooner had Margaret given up her children, than she began to manœuvre how to steal them back again, and spirit them over the Border. While pretending to be too ill to leave her palace at Linlithgow, where she gave out that she had 'taken her chamber' in anticipation of her approaching confinement, she effected her own escape into England, but the plan for capturing the King and his brother failed. Nothing could now exceed her desolate condition, as wandering from place to place, alone, ill, and worse than friendless, she sought in vain a refuge in all the wild Border region, where she might

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\* Albany to Dacre, 10th August, 1515. Record Office.

† Calig., B. II. 369. B. M.



await her hour of peril. Angus, seeing the turn which affairs had taken, had thought it prudent to abandon her, and after helping her to escape, had returned to Scotland in the hope of coming to terms with Albany. Margaret was at last thankful to accept Lord Dacre's rough hospitality in his gloomy Castle of Harbottle. Here, in the midst of brutal soldiers, with no woman to render her the most needful service, she gave birth to a daughter, the Lady Margaret Douglas, on the 5th October, 1515. On the tenth, she wrote to Albany to announce her delivery 'of a cristen sowle, beyng a young lady,' and miserably ill though she was, did not omit to demand, 'as tutrix of the young King and Prince, her tender children, to have the whole rule and governance of Scotland.'

To this she received an answer from the Council, stating that the governance of the realm had expired with the death of her husband, and had devolved to the Estates; that with her consent, they had appointed the Duke of Albany; that she had forfeited the tutelage of her children, by her second marriage, and that in all temporal matters, the realm of Scotland had been immediately subject to Almighty God, not recognising the Pope or any superior upon earth. With this Margaret was forced to be contented; further words would have been as unavailing as a reed against the tempest, and even words were soon beyond her power to write, for the birth of her daughter was succeeded by a long and painful illness, which nearly proved fatal to the unhappy Queen. To add to the bitterness of her situation, at the moment when she was beginning slowly to recover, came the news of the illness and sudden death of the little Duke of Rothesay. Grief, anger, and anxiety for the safety of the King, served naturally to increase the gravity of her condition, and for months she lay hovering between life and death, loudly accusing Albany of having murdered her child. The accusation was repeated to Albany himself, as soon as her unsteady fingers could grasp a pen, but the Regent took no heed of her stinging words, continued to invite her to return to Scotland, in spite of her persistent refusals, and apparently succeeded at last in convincing her of his innocence. On her recovery, she wrote to him from Morpeth, to announce



her departure for the south, Henry having invited her to his court, accompanying his invitation with presents of costly stuffs and money, and clothing for the new-born infant.

Margaret's letter to the Regent is significant of a sudden change in her demeanour towards him, and to judge by her subsequent behaviour, the change meant treachery. Instead of the fierce denunciations she had lately indulged in, she acknowledges that she has often had goodly and pleasant words, as well as letters from him, and 'though his conduct has not always corresponded to them, yet as matters are being accommodated,' she hopes he 'will reform it.' The meaning of this change of tactics became clear to all but the Regent himself, who seems to have been of a singularly unsuspicious nature, as soon as Margaret reached London. He was still hoping for a permanent peace with Henry, and more than once expressed a wish to pay him a friendly visit. This, both Henry and Margaret encouraged him to do, and writing to Wolsey about this time, the Scottish Queen expressed the most fervent hope that he would come, counterbalanced by the fear that he would not.\* Had the matter rested entirely with him, the visit would certainly have been paid, but his Council, who had some reason to doubt Henry's plausible words, were urgent in dissuading him. All things considered, it is fair to surmise that the Duke would have repented his temerity, if he had placed his head within the lion's jaws.

Having failed to inveigle him into their power, the brother and sister instructed Dacre to 'sow debate' between him and his Council, but this scheme also failed. Dacre wrote, however, to show that he was not devoid of zeal, saying that being unable to interfere with Scottish affairs in any other way, he had given rewards to four hundred outlaws, for burnings in various parts of the kingdom.† No means were too vile, no instrument unworthy to be employed in the work of destroying the Regent and advancing Tudor interests. The Queen even condescended to use her truant husband, and the part played

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\* Cotton MS. Vesp., F. III., 36. B. M.

† Dacre to Wolsey, Calig. B. I., 150. B. M.

by Angus is scarcely less reprehensible than Margaret's own, for while he pretended to be loyal to Albany and to Scotland, he possessed himself of every important State secret, and transmitted it to his wife, in the hope of appeasing her for his desertion. She of course passed on all that she thus learned to Henry and Wolsey.

It is not our purpose to give a detailed account of Margaret's life, or it would be interesting to describe the pomp and splendour, the feasts and revels with which she was entertained for a whole year at the English Court—luxury in strange contrast to the misery she had undergone during the first months after her flight from Scotland. Pageants, tournaments and banquets now took the place of privation and suffering; all that met the eye was changed, but the dark and treacherous under-currents, known to but few of her contemporaries, remained the same and were the realities that shaped her course. In spite, however, of plots and intrigues, Margaret's position was not improving. Her visit to England could not be prolonged indefinitely, and as she was evidently not to return to Scotland in triumph, it was desirable to make as good terms for herself as she could.

The Regent promised that her dowry should be paid, and that Angus should be allowed to join her, if he were willing to do so, a somewhat doubtful alternative, as he had not availed himself of the leave that had already been given to him. As for the Regent himself, he declared that it had always been his desire to gratify the Queen and to advise the best for her and her son.\* Reluctantly therefore, Margaret at last prepared to turn her face northwards, having obtained permission to take with her a suite befitting her station, safe-conduct being granted, except in the case of any person among them plotting harm to the kingdom; and to these conditions, the King set his Great Seal.

A letter from the Venetian envoy to the Doge, dated 13th April, 1517, says: 'The truce between England and Scotland has been arranged. The Queen is to return, but is not to be

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\* Calig. B. II., 262. B. M.

admitted to the administration of the kingdom. She may take with her twenty-four Englishmen and as many Scotch as she pleases, provided they be not rebels;’ and he adds that he has been assured of these facts by Albany’s Secretary.

Magnus and Dacre did their best to make her journey smooth; but when she arrived at Berwick it needed all their persuasion to induce her to enter Scotland. ‘We did our best,’ they reported to Wolsey, ‘to help her forward and give her counsel, otherwise she would have remained on the Borders.’ At Lamberton Kirk, contrary to the Regent’s expectation, she was met by Angus accompanied by Morton and other lords, with three hundred men chiefly Borderers. Albany had left for France, taking with him the heirs or brothers of the principal men in the country, whom he had bound over to keep the peace during his absence, which he then did not intend to prolong more than five months.

Margaret’s return was an excellent opportunity for beginning a new and better life, had she been so minded; but events proved her to be in a more querulous, treacherous and discontented mood than ever. ‘Her Grace considereth now the honour of England, and the poverty and wretchedness of Scotland,’ wrote Magnus to Wolsey, ‘which she did not afore, but in her opinion, esteemed Scotland equal with England,’\* and her complaints to Henry are frequent and loud. She complained of her husband, of her poverty, of the bad faith of the Scottish people who still left her dowry unpaid, of not being allowed free access to her son. She has been obliged to lay in wed (pawn) the plate given to her by her brother, and is likely to be driven to extreme poverty, as Wolsey will learn by her messenger. She would have been still worse off, she caused her friends to write, had not Magnus and Dacre drawn up a book at Berwick, the day before her entry into Scotland, by which Angus, signing it, renounced all claim to her ‘conjunct feoffment.’† But Margaret did not stop at complaints; Henry must begin the war again.

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\* June 16, 1517. Calig., B. II., 253. B. M.

† Dacre to Wolsey. Harbottle, 5th March, 1518. R. O.

He may, she declares, reasonably cause Scotch ships to be taken, for she has suffered long and forborne to do evil, although she knew she would never get good from Scotland by fair means. When by dint of her constant urging to renewed onsets, the Borders had become one vast battle field, she wrote to the Marquis of Dorset to beg him to spare the Convent of Coldstream, whose abbess had done her good service in times past.\* The motive was, however, no mere charitable one; the abbess being 'one of the best spies for England.' And now, for the first time, Margaret ventures to express the wish that has for long been forming itself in her mind. She has been much troubled by Angus since her coming to Scotland, and is so more and more daily. They have not met this half year, and—after some hovering on the brink of the word, she pronounces it boldly—she will part with him, if she may by God's law and with honour to herself, for he loves her not! Unlike Henry, when seeking a pretext to divorce Queen Katharine, Margaret was at no pains to disguise the motive which inspired her, and the possibility of a flaw in the marriage is openly but a pretext for getting rid of a husband of whom she was weary. We are at least spared the nausea caused by Henry's conscientious scruples. She first puts forward honestly her wish to be free from Angus, and then her determination to divorce him if she may lawfully. But it was the only piece of honesty in the whole business, for the suit itself was one long wearisome series of misrepresentation and falsehood, without which her cause could by no possibility have been gained. The usual plea of pre-contracts was brought forward, but as these were of too flimsy a nature to bear investigation, Margaret declared that the late King of Scots, her husband, was still living three years after the battle of Flodden, and that consequently he was alive when she was married to the Earl of Angus.† As the King's body had never been found, this assertion could not be disproved, though there could be no reasonable doubt as to his having fallen on that calamitous

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\* Thomas, Marquis of Dorset to Henry VIII. Calig., B. III., 255.

† Magnus to Wolsey. State Papers, Vol. IV., p. 385.

day. But in spite of her bold swearing, Margaret was not so certain of success, but that she was anxious for Henry's support, and she not only begged him to befriend her, but promised that she would only consult his wishes in taking another husband, and that this time she would not part from him.\* It was, however, no part of Henry's policy that his sister should put Angus away, for although she had not consulted him in the choice of her second husband, he was very well satisfied with him. Henry could to a certain extent control him, and at all events, while married to him, the Queen could not contribute by any foreign alliance, to the power and greatness of Scotland. But Angus was making himself obnoxious to his wife, beyond her very limited capacity for endurance. Not only had he proved a faithless husband, but what was infinitely worse to her mind, he refused to give up the income of her Ettrick forest estate, which she had made over to him in the days when his handsome face and figure had first struck her fancy, and when she thought nothing too costly to lavish upon him. She had made him great, to her own and the country's misfortune, and it was a difficult matter to make him small again, but all Scotland felt the evil effects of his power, of his ascendancy over the young King, and of the feuds which resulted therefrom. So great was the scourge felt to be, that the King's Council appealed to Margaret to recall the Regent Albany that he might restore order. She was aware that Albany's return was the thing of all others that Henry wished to avoid, but it suited her for the nonce to act the part of a good Scotchwoman, and she wrote an imploring letter to the Duke, begging him to come back and take pity on his unhappy country.† Notwithstanding this, her complaints to Henry, through Dacre, of her bad treatment, and her entreaties to be allowed to return to England did not cease. She had 'lieuer be dead than live among the Scotch,' and she entreats that no peace may be renewed unless 'some good may be taken' that she may live at ease.‡

Wolsey was not sparing in his remarks on the Queen's

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Calig., B. I., 232.

† Calig., B. II., 195.

‡ Calig., B. I., 275.



double dealing, the facts of which had all been disclosed to him by spies. He has, he says, represented to the King 'the folly of Queen Margaret in leaning to her enemies, and departing from her husband,' notwithstanding what Dacre has already written to her. Dacre, by the King's desire, is to write to her again and tell her that if she persists in her dishonourable course, she can expect no favour.\*

The Earl of Surrey meanwhile had been despatched with an army to the Borders, and threatened to invade Scotland unless the Duke of Albany were abandoned, and Margaret reinstated as Regent. On the 16th September, 1523, he wrote two letters to the Queen, one intended for her eyes alone, the other to be shown to her son's Council. In the first, he says that the King of England would approve of her son's 'coming forth' and shaking off all tutelage but his mother's, for Surrey is about to waste Scotland, and the young King's plea for emancipating himself should be, that he cannot suffer his realm to be laid waste. Margaret is then to summon the lords to take up arms in her son's defence, and will then be in a position to command Surrey to retire. She will thus form a party for her son, and be enabled to send Albany and his Frenchmen back to France. Then Surrey will turn his arms against her enemies. If Margaret keeps her promise, money will be forthcoming. In the event of her causing James V. to 'come forth' to Edinburgh, he has no doubt, that if he will command his subjects on their allegiance to take his part, the most of them will do so, especially the commons, who must be roused to drive the French to Dunbar. Surrey will be ready to give assistance.†

The second letter was to the same effect, though more cautiously worded. The King of England would be glad to hear of his nephew's prosperous estate, but would certainly be dissatisfied that his nobles suffered him and themselves to be kept in subjection by Albany. Surrey was ready to help with men and money all who would come forward to protect their natural sovereign; but peace could never be between the two realms if the Scots did not abandon the Duke. As for Mar-

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\* Calig., B. III., 106.

† Calig., B. IV., 196.



garet's hope that Henry would be a better friend to Scotland on her account, Surrey had been ordered from doing any more hurt when she wrote. He had now waited a long time, hoping that the lords would have shown themselves more natural, loving subjects than they now appeared, seeing that the day appointed for the Duke's arrival had expired, and their King was in no greater safety than he was before. All the world would see that the fault was not Henry's, but that of the Scots, who refused to put *him* out of the realm who meant to destroy the King and usurp the crown. Henry would never desist from making war upon Scotland, until they abandoned Albany, and sued to him for peace. On their doing this, Surrey had full authority to treat with them, and to assist them with men and money\*.

This advice had no effect whatever upon the Scotch lords, whose loyalty to the Regent remained unshaken; but Margaret did not consider herself hampered by any pledges given to Albany, and two days after the receipt of the letters, she urged Surrey to come to Edinburgh, or somewhere near it, at once, declaring that the lords would certainly do as she desired. As for the threatened laying waste, however, 'they laughed at injuries done only to the poor people.' A thousand men with artillery would have Edinburgh at their mercy, if they came suddenly. Surrey must go at it at once or let it be. Failing this, she desired leave to come to England with her true servants, adding, 'for I will come away and I should steal out of it.'† The truth was, that far from being sure that the lords would agree to any of the above proposals, Margaret knew well that she had but a handful of friends in Scotland, and that her only hope of regaining the Regency lay in Henry's power of coercion. Trusting that Surrey would really march on Edinburgh, she did all she could to persuade the young King's Council to allow of his being brought to that place, and to appoint new guardians friendly to her interests.

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\* *State Papers*, IV. 21. 'Copy of my letter to be showed to the lords of Scotland.' In Surrey's hand. Record Office.

† *State Papers*, IV., 26.

In both these endeavours she however failed, and James remained at Stirling. 'The lords are all fallen away from the Queen, and adhere to the Governor,' wrote the Abbess of Coldstream to Sir John Bulmer, and Surrey passed on the information to Wolsey, telling him that she had no credit with them, and that they looked hourly for Albany's arrival.

As for Surrey's own movements, even if he had been willing to besiege Edinburgh, he would have been frustrated by the want of sufficient transport-carriages for his victuals. Had he not caused his soldiers to carry their food in wallets, and their drink in bottles, it would not have been possible for him to have reached the North, and a raid into the enemy's country necessitated a far ampler stock of provisions than could thus be carried. The Queen's desire that he should take Edinburgh, was he thought, only to provide herself with a means of escape.\*

In England, it was commonly believed that the Scottish lords were in such fear of the Duke of Albany, who was hourly expected to arrive, that they would break their covenant with him, even if they had each given him four of the best of their sons as hostages. But Surrey declared vehemently that though they should deceive Margaret, they should not deceive him. The suspense was at last ended and Margaret wrote to inform him of the Regent's arrival. He answered at once, desiring to know what number of horse and foot soldiers had come with him, and what countrymen they were. He could, he said, give her no advice about coming away, but would meet her in any part of the Marches, and at whatever time she pleased; she in return was to let him know when Albany intended to invade England. In conclusion, hoping to prevent any agreement between the Queen and the Regent, he warned her that Albany would most certainly be King, if the King were not well guarded, 'for the Frenchmen can empoison one, and yet he shall not die for a year after.'†

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\* Surrey to Wolsey, Berwick, 21st Sep., 1523. Record Office.

† Surrey's Letterbook. Tanner MS., 90, f. 47. Bodleian Library.

The slippery nature of Margaret's friendships was well known to Surrey, and he kept up the fiction of Albany's nefarious intentions with regard to the young King, in the hope of securing her adherence to English policy. But, unluckily for his schemes, he did not sufficiently study the springs of her actions, which would have taught him to be a little more lavish with money. The end of her next letter ought to have opened his eyes to the necessity of striking a bargain with her, if he would pretend to draw her into the English net.

After telling him that the Duke has held a Council at Glasgow and that he means to march into England in a fortnight, she goes on to warn him that Scotland was never before made so strong, and says that it is still a secret whether Albany intends to attack the east or west Border, but that she thinks both. She gives him a detailed account of the numbers and condition of his soldiers, and estimates his French contingent at six thousand men, adding that German reinforcements are expected by the first fair wind. They trust to win Berwick, and if they succeed, she and her son are undone. Then she begs to know how she is to get away and have some money. If Henry will not help her, she must perforce ask help of the Duke, and she adds significantly: 'and he will cause me to do as he will, or else he will give me nothing.' He has not yet come to her, she says, but he writes 'very good writings of his own hand, and as many fair words as can be devised,' to which however she professes to give no credence.\* Surrey was of the opinion that Margaret should remain in Scotland, as her coming to England would cause embarrassment and expense. Two thousand marks would hardly satisfy her in England, whereas she would be content with three or four hundred pounds a year in Scotland,† to say nothing of the loss Henry would incur, if she came away, in being deprived of the information she sent.

But it was just this haggling over bribes, that prevented Margaret from being altogether on Henry's side, and which

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\* Calig., B. VI., 379. State Papers, IV., 40.

† State Papers, IV., 40.

threw her into the arms of the more generous Albany, whenever there was the least hope of gain. Thus, a month later, after the Governor's somewhat hasty retreat from Wark, the Queen told Surrey that she had been obliged to take what money the Duke would give her, that she would do her best to keep her son, but that she could not displease Albany without Henry's support. She implored Surrey to plead with the King for her, and in return for his help, she would inform him of all she knew, but he must keep it secret.\*

Meanwhile, she gave the Duke to understand that she had incurred her brother's displeasure for his sake,† and the same legend was repeated to the lords in Council. Complaining to them of the bad treatment she had received in Scotland, she begged them to bear in mind the good faith she had always kept to her son, to the lord Governor and to the realm, incurring for the last three or four years her brother's displeasure, for the Governor's sake, at whose desire, she was always ready to write the best she could.‡ Immediately after this remarkable statement comes Henry's answer to her last appeal, in the guise of one hundred marks for information received, together with the refusal of the truce which Albany had repeatedly solicited.§ The smallness of the sum prompted a diplomatic letter to Surrey, in which the Queen declared that she had promised before the lords to be a good Scotch-woman, and to accept whatever was for the good of her son, with whom she is resolved to bide as long as she may, although the lords are bent on separating them. They say that they cannot help her to her 'conjunct feoffment' while her brother makes war on them, and she knows not where any other help may be got. If she is to live with her son, Henry must contribute to her support, as he has done to a certain extent already. She will do as he commands her, and have as few servants as possible. She had asked the Governor and lords in Council why she was holden suspect, and not allowed to be with her son, and the answer she received was that she

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\* Calig., B. I., 281.

† *Ib.*, 159.

‡ *Ib.*, B. II., 268.

§ *Ib.*, B. II., 11. State Papers, IV., 60, 26 Nov., 1523.

was Henry's sister, and would perhaps take the King her son into England, and they knew well her brother would do more for her than any other. She had answered that her deeds had shown otherwise, and that she could prove the malice of such an imputation! *Thus Henry would see how she suffered for his sake.\**

The next scene in the comedy is her displeasure on hearing that the Governor is treating with Henry for peace, without her intervention. 'It is hard,' she complains, 'to be out with the Governor here, and not to know what the King will do for me!' If she had flattered Albany she might have had 'great profits,' but she will not take them till she knows Henry's mind. She has not spoken with Albany since Surrey left, and would not do so, as long as he remained in Scotland, so discontented were they with each other.†

Upon this follows an astounding revelation. Surrey received a letter from the Queen, containing another document, the seals of which had been broken and closed again. It was a copy of an agreement between Queen Margaret and the Duke of Albany; but the manner in which it came to be enclosed in her letter never transpired, though it was thought that the packet had been opened by a spy, and the document inserted, in order to ruin her prospects with her brother.

It ran as follows:—The Queen promises that during the minority of her son, she will never suffer anything contrary to the Duke's authority, and will inform him of it, and hinder as much as she can any wrong intended against him; she will not consent to a truce or peace with England without the comprehension of her son's allies; she will assist to keep him securely, according to the decree of the last Parliament; she will do all she can to hinder any practice against him, of which she may hear, and will inform the Governor of it, if he be in the country, and if not, those who have charge of the King; she will not consent to anything contrary to the alliance with France or to the treaty of Rouen, and will further a marriage

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\* Queen Margaret to Surrey, Dec. 1523. Record Office.

† Calig., B. I., 209, April 21, 1524.

between her son and one of the daughters of the King of France. The Governor promises to do the like, and to obtain for her an honourable reception by the King of France, if she incurs the enmity of her brother, and is forced to quit the country in consequence of the assistance he may give to Angus, or other evil-disposed persons who may interfere with her goods and conjunct feoffment; he will, if she requests, send some of his servants with her, and will maintain her against every one except the King her son. Both parties swear to keep these promises upon the Holy Gospels.\* Wolsey, upon receipt of this information, at once addressed instructions to Dacre, charging him to find out whether such an agreement had really been made, and if so, how the copy of it had found its way into the Queen's letter.

Dacre therefore wrote to her, telling her of the discovery, and recapitulating the contents of the document, adding that the King desired to know whether she had consented to it of her own free will, why it was done, whether she herself sent the copy, or if not, who did, and with what intent. Margaret replied by an indignant but weak denial. The instrument in question was one, she averred, which the Duke had *desired* her to execute, but which she had declined at all costs to meddle with. This explanation was too improbable for Wolsey to accept, the whole course of Margaret's actions tending to shew that had Albany tried and failed to draw her into such a compact, she would unhesitatingly have disclosed the negotiations in order to make capital out of her refusal. The opportunity for demanding large sums as a reward for fidelity to Henry's interests, would have proved irresistible; while, as a matter of fact, the transaction had never been mentioned in any of her letters. Vague hints to the effect that Albany was continually outbidding Henry, had been her refrain for years; but whereas she sent minute and circumstantial details of every other secret likely to prejudice the country and its Regent, she had been silent as to any definite overtures such as those contained in the document referred to.

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\* Add. MS., 24, 965, ff. 231 and 234, B.M.



The alternative was to believe that, while pretending to be false, for once she was true to Scotland; and yet she stands so 'rooted in dishonour,' that her acquittal is but little to her credit. Her only resource, when Dacre persisted in his accusation, was to complain of the bad treatment she was receiving at her brother's hands, saying that he neither regarded herself nor her writing; that she had not failed, and did not mean to do so, but that if others had been in her place, they would have acted very differently.\* To this Dacre ruthlessly replied that it was well known both in Scotland and in England not only that she had assented to the bond found in her letter, but that it had passed her sign manual and seal, in return for which the Duke had given her the wardship and marriage of the young Earl of Huntly and of others, together with other gifts and rewards, a proceeding which Dacre declared was a great dishonour to her brother, and would perhaps after all avail her but little. He marvelled greatly also at her pretended ignorance of the negotiations on foot between Albany and himself, since in his last letter he had informed her of all the proceedings.†

Margaret continued for some time to feebly deny having allied herself formally with the Governor, complaining of Dacre's 'sharpness' with her, notwithstanding which, he went on bringing proofs of her duplicity before her, till Henry at last ordered him to let the matter drop, whereupon she was willing to do the same.‡

Having failed to secure Margaret's undivided favour in the past, Henry now took a more indulgent line and tried to convince her how much good might accrue to her in future, if she would but 'go the fruitful way.' The unfortunate Angus, who had taken refuge in England, was now sent back to Scotland, in the hope that a possible reconciliation with her husband might estrange the Queen from Albany. But this was far from successful. She could with difficulty be persuaded to receive him, and all the money that Henry sent to her went to strengthen the hands of her husband's enemies, so that Angus

\* Add. MS., 24, 965, f. 223, B.M., May 19, 1524.

† *Ib.*, 24, 965, f. 244, B.M., 27th May, 1524. ‡ *Ib.*, 24, 965, f. 253, B.M.

was obliged to entreat that no further supplies might be provided. Margaret then veered round and said that Albany had sent to her with great offers if she would join his party, adding that perhaps the Duke would marry her after getting her divorced. How this could be possible, considering that Albany had a wife already, might puzzle a mind more fettered by the logic of facts than was the Queen's.

That she was seriously anxious to be agreeable to the Duke, is proved by the instructions she sent to John Cantely, who was to tell Albany her good will towards him and the kingdom of France. And lest he should interpret unfavourably the fact of her having sent ambassadors from herself and her son to England, she assured him that she would do nothing without including France. Finally, she wished to know his intentions towards her, and what he would give her. He must secure for her the protection of the King of France, in the event of her taking his part against England, which she will certainly do if Henry continues to help Angus. If the King of France desires to have her and her son on his side, he must support them. Albany is to keep the matter secret, and not to allow her letters to be sent into England, as has been done formerly, and she will take his part against everybody except her son.\* These instructions were written on the 22nd February, 1525, but on the 31st March following, Margaret, in a stormy interview with Magnus, angrily denied having favoured Albany at all. She declared that she had always sought to please Henry, and complained of his letters being 'sore and sharp.' She maintained that she had taken a great matter on hand at his request, and had had much trouble with the Duke of Albany for his sake, yet now that she had plainly told the Duke that she followed Henry's pleasure, Henry would have no more to do with her. If he will not be kind to her, she hopes he will not at least cause Angus to trouble her in her living. She has a plea against Angus before the Pope, and he cannot interfere with her by law. †

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\* *Double de la credence de la Royne et mémoire de Mr. John Cantely.*  
R. O.

† Calig., B. VII., 3.

It was clearly to Henry's interest to persuade Margaret to take her husband back, for Angus belonged with the whole Douglas family to Albany's bitterest enemies. The reconciliation between him and the Regent had been but a short interlude, brought about solely by self-interest, on the part of Angus, and followed by a deep and lasting feud. Added to this claim on Henry's favour was the fact of his possessing a powerful ascendancy over the mind of the young King. But with the page of Henry's own domestic history open before us, it is hardly possible to repress a smile at the arguments against her divorce which Henry put before Margaret at the very moment when he was trying to force the Pope's hand, in order to obtain from him a sentence against his own marriage. The following substance of a letter, written it is true by Wolsey, but dictated by his master, applies in every detail as well to Henry's as to Margaret's case. If we change the pronoun, substitute London for Rome, King for Queen, Katharine for Angus, wife for husband, all that he causes Wolsey to say, becomes as applicable to himself as to his sister.

After desiring her to accept favourably Henry's message, which, he says, much concerns the wealth of her son and her own repute, the Cardinal urges her brother's hope that the 'undeceivable Spirit of God which moved him to send to her will effectually work.' Amid the cares of his government, he has never forgotten her, and hopes she will turn to God's Word, 'the vyvely doctrine of Jesu Christ, the only ground of salvation' (1 Cor. 3.) He reminds her of the divine ordinance of inseparable matrimony, first instituted in Paradise, and hopes her Grace will perceive how she was seduced by flatterers to an unlawul divorce from 'the right noble Earl of Angus, etc.,' upon untrue and insufficient grounds. Furthermore, 'the shameless sentence sent from Rome plainly showed how unlawfully it was handled, judgment being given against a party neither present in person, nor by proxy. He urges her further, for the weal of her soul, and to avoid the inevitable damnation threatened against 'advoutrers,' to reconcile herself with Angus as her true husband, or out of mere natural affection for her daughter whose excellent beauty and pleasant be-

haviour, nothing less godly than goodly, furnished with virtues and womanly demeanour, should soften her heart. That she should be reputed baseborn cannot be avoided, except the Queen will relinquish the 'advoutrous' company' with him that is not, nor may not be of right her husband.\*

The individual here mentioned was Harry Stuart, with whom Margaret had already contracted a secret marriage. She does not appear to have been in the least affected by this pious letter, but the manner in which her son received the news of her marriage caused her some inconvenience. In his displeasure, James sent Lord Erskine to besiege his mother and her new husband in Stirling Castle; but what promised to be a tragedy had a somewhat ludicrous ending, for Margaret, in terror of what might follow, at once gave up her husband, who after a short imprisonment was allowed to escape. He promptly rejoined the Queen, and James subsequently forgave him, and created him Lord Methven.

But not even when James had come to his own, did Margaret cease to intrigue. Henry's suspicious and overbearing character made it imperative for him to know all that was going on in Scotland, and his sister was the only available agent for the purpose. It does not appear that the treachery, now doubly odious, cost her the least qualm. The climax was however reached, when after persuading James to confide to her his private instructions to the Scotch ambassador residing in London, she contrived that the information thus obtained should be in Henry's hands at the same moment that it reached its legitimate destination. Fortunately for the affairs of Scotland, the treacherous correspondence was discovered, and Margaret narrowly escaped imprisonment. The immediate consequence was to put an end to the more friendly relations that had been springing up between the two kings, and to prevent a meeting in process of negotiation. At this interview, which was to take place at York, Henry hoped to convert his nephew to his own views regarding the Pope, and to pave the way to a good understanding between them, he sent Barlow

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\* Calig., B. VI., 194.

and Holcroft to Scotland with a lengthy document containing, with much fulsome flattery of James, all Henry's choice vocabulary of epithets against the 'Bishop of Rome.\*' Margaret, ignorant that her son had discovered her treachery, continued to urge him to proceed to York; but her eagerness only roused his suspicions that worse was intended. 'The Queen, your Grace's sister,' wrote Lord William Howard to Henry, 'because she hath so earnestly solicited in the cause of meeting, is in high displeasure with the King her son, he bearing her in hand that she received gifts of your Highness to betray him, with many other unkind and suspicious words.† Enough has been seen of Margaret's method of conduct to make it quite clear what her next step would be. Out of favour with James, she of course threw the whole brunt of her misfortune on Henry, for whose sake she had incurred so much danger and expense, having lived for the last six months at Court, for the sole purpose of advancing his interests.‡ But Henry was beginning to weary of his sister's complaints and appeals for money. Besides, James would in future guard his secrets better, and Margaret almost cease to be useful as a spy. So she must not expect him to disburse notable sums merely because she is his sister, and must learn to be content with the entirely sufficient provision made for her on her marriage with the King of Scots.§

This was all the consolation he could afford her for some time to come, for besides his other reasons for disregarding the letters which she, nothing daunted by his silence, continued to send him, Henry was too much occupied with his own affairs to bestow much thought on a sister whose power of helping him was henceforth small. It was the moment of Anne Boleyn's disgrace, and he was engrossed with the list of crimes he was about to accuse her of. On the subject of Margaret's various marriages, her brother had ever failed to manifest that sympathy which a similarity of tastes would seem to justify.

\* Hamilton Papers, fol. 27. Instructions to Barlow and Holcroft. Oct. 3, 1535.

† State Papers, IV., p. 46.

‡ Add MS., 32, 616, fol. 87. B. M.

§ State Papers, V., 56.

He had assumed the tone of a moralist on her separation from Angus, and had treated Lord Methven in his letters with scant respect, and when in the course of time she began to weary of her new spouse, and to complain of him with increasing bitterness, it was long before Henry could be roused to express any interest in the matter. At last, however, he found a convenient season for attending to her affairs. She had written to inform him that whereas she did Lord Meffen (*sic*) the honour to take him as her husband, he had spent her lands and profits upon his own kin, and had brought her into debt to the sum of 8000 marks Scots, and would give her no account of it. She trusted the King, her son, would treat her to his and her own honour, but if not, she had no refuge but in Henry, and she begged him not to suffer her to be wronged. To this letter he deigned to reply that he should be sorry if his good brother and nephew treated her otherwise than a son should treat his mother. As it appeared by certain evidence, she was well-handled and grown to much wealth and quiet; but according to other reports, quite the contrary, so that he was in doubt which to believe. 'Also,' he continues, 'having heard at other times from you of your evil-treatment by your son and Lord Muffyn, (*sic*) and as we are sending the bearer into those parts, on our business, we desire you to show him the points wherein you note yourself evil-handled, and whether you desire us to treat of them with your son, or only generally to recommend your condition.\* Margaret had remained faithful to Lord Methven for about ten years, and it was not till 1537 that she thought of applying formally for a divorce, her chief plea being that he wasted her money, although she said she had 'forty famous proofs' against him.†

James was furious, and ordered that the divorce, whether obtained at the cost of more false oaths, or whether Margaret's so-called third husband really had a wife living when he married her, should not be proclaimed in Scotland. This was what constituted Margaret's grievance

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\* State Papers, V. 65. 9 Ib., V. 63.

† Hamilton Papers, fol. 105. Oct. 13th, 1537.



against her son, his objection to her divorce being, she declared, the fear lest she should pass into England and remarry the Earl of Angus. 'And this Harry Stuart Lord of Methven causes him to believe this of *me!*' she exclaimed contemptuously.\* One plea for getting rid of the now despised Harry Stuart is too amusing to be passed over. James was in France whither he had gone to bring home his bride, the young and beautiful Magdalene, daughter of the French King, and Margaret thought to induce her brother to interest himself in her divorce through his jealousy of the French. After begging him to send a special messenger to the King her son to know his 'utter mind' she says: 'For now dearest brother your Grace I trust will consider that now the Queen his wife is to come into this realm soon after Easter, as he hath sent word here, to make ready for the same, and that being, it will be great dishonour to him that I, his mother having a just cause to part, can nought get a final end; and I trust your Grace will consider I may do your Grace and my son more honour to be without him (Lord Methven) than to have him, considering that he is but a sober man, and if the Queen that is to come, see me not entreated as I should be, she will think it an evil example.†

But all efforts were fruitless; Henry could not be persuaded to plead his sister's cause, and James was obdurate. Margaret, however, then in her forty-ninth year, dispensed with the legal formality she had hitherto considered necessary, and allied herself to a certain John Stuart, who, according to some opinions, is identical with the adventurous Earl of Arran, so notorious in the reign of James VI. Then, a few more miserable years of petty intrigues, when it was no longer in her power to carry on important ones, and the faithless, undignified life drew to a close. But before the end, a ray of sorrow for her mis-spent days brightened the hitherto unrelieved gloom of Margaret's career. Henry's messenger, sent after her death to gather up the details of her last moments, and above all to find out whether she had made a will, wrote to his master as

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\* State Papers, V., 119.

† Hamilton Papers, fol. 109.

follows:—‘When she did perceive that death did approach, she did desire the friars that was her confessors, that they should sit on their knees before the King, and to beseech him that he would be good and gracious unto the Earl of Angwische, and did extremely lament and ask God mercy that she had offended unto the said Earl as she had.’\* The friars were also to plead with her son for the Lady Margaret Douglas, the daughter whom she had so remorselessly abandoned, and to beg him that she might have some of her mother’s goods. And thus, making what reparation she could, with penitent words on her lips, Margaret Tudor passed away.

After his sister’s death, Henry had few opportunities of interfering in the affairs of Scotland, and to the end of his reign, the State Papers relating to the intercourse between the two Kings, contain little beyond commercial treaties, safe conducts, and mutual compliments.

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## ART. II.—LORD WOLSELEY’S LIFE OF MARLBOROUGH.

*The Life of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, to the Accession of Queen Anne.* By Field-Marshal VISCOUNT WOLSELEY, K.P. London. 1894.

WE shall sharply criticise parts of this book, but parts of it are of undoubted merit. Lord Wolseley has given us a life of Marlborough in the first stages of his splendid career, which, if very far from a great biography, easily eclipses Coxe’s rather dull narrative, and the extremely imperfect sketch of Alison. We shall take exception to his account of many passages of Marlborough’s conduct; his portrait of his subject is flawed and blemished, and has its lights and shadows badly arranged; he has not placed before us the living image of the man. But he has brought out features of Marlborough’s

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\* Ray to the Privy Council. State Papers, V., pt. IV., 193.

character which hitherto have remained obscure, or overlaid by clouds of detraction; he has added largely to our knowledge of Marlborough's exploits in the early phase of his military life, and he has, in some measure, relieved his hero's memory from charges unduly pressed against him. Lord Wolsley, too, possesses descriptive skill; his sketches of Charles and James II., and of William III., show insight and art; and he has caught and reproduced the genius of the age of the Restoration and of the Revolution of 1688—a comprehension of this, we need hardly say, is essential to the true interpretation of his theme—though he has not shown distinctly enough how this influence affected the leading men of the time. Some chapters of the work are of sterling value, as illustrating military events of the period; the narrative of these, if not of the highest order, is lucid, judicious, and very well arranged. One characteristic of Lord Wolsley, as a writer on war, deserves special praise. He appreciates the importance of 'the divine side of the art;' perceives that the genius of great captains is the paramount cause of victory in the field; and assigns their just value to the moral forces of enthusiasm, patriotism, and energetic zeal, which have repeatedly played a decisive part in war. He has done well clearly to bring out these truths, in an age when mechanism, organisation, and mere material power, have been largely accepted as almost the only elements that determine the issues of campaigns and battles.

The defects of this work, however, are grave and numerous; we are compelled to direct attention to them. Lord Wolsley is Marlborough's avowed champion; but his championship is hardly judicious or skilful. Many circumstances of the age, in a great measure, palliate the misdeeds and even the crimes of Marlborough, and especially explain why he was held up to odium, beyond other public men of his day. Lord Wolsley, however, does not give the weight to these considerations which they certainly have in the eyes of a fair-minded enquirer. He repeatedly adopts a mode of defence, which, in our judgment, is quite untenable. He sometimes vindicates Marlborough on high moral grounds, from which he can be dislodged with ease; he has raised the subject of his eulogy to a bad eminence, in which

his worst deformities are all the more conspicuous. He makes excuses, besides, for Marlborough, which really are not excuses at all; more than once he evades the true question at issue, in an examination of Marlborough's conduct; occasionally he has recourse to mere sophistry. As regards the two worst acts of Marlborough's life, his desertion of his master, in the face of the enemy, and his atrocious treachery in the affair of Brest, Lord Wolseley's vindication utterly breaks down; he ought never to have chosen the lines he has followed. Lord Wolseley, too, in the course of his narrative, indulges in sallies quite out of place; he makes comparisons and draws contrasts which have no bearing on his immediate subject; he scoffs at modern statesmen, and modern opinion, with what we can only describe as flippancy; in this respect his heady and impetuous sarcasms form a bad foil to the serene intelligence, and the unerring judgment of the great captain and diplomatist he has made his study. One episode of this work is very erroneous. In his sketch of the state of the military art in the second part of the seventeenth century, Lord Wolseley has taken the period when its decline was marked, as the standard by which it can be fairly measured; and, in his brief description of the Army of France, he has omitted one feature of extreme importance. He is also hardly just to Turenne, as a strategist, second to Napoleon alone, and if inferior to Marlborough on the field of battle, assuredly his superior in the great movements of war. An irreverent critic, who had read Lord Wolseley's sneers at merely learned generals, sneers that, in some instances, are mere paradox, might ascribe these mis-statements to want of knowledge; but we think they may be more truly referred to a desire to magnify his hero's exploits. The book, we must add, contains some positive mistakes, which should not be found in a good biography; and it abounds in words that are hardly pure English.\*

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\* We refer here to a few of these mistakes, not in a carping spirit, but in order to bring them under the author's notice. I., Vol. I., p. 15—Crewkerne is in Somerset, and Lyme Regis in Dorset; Lord Wolseley has placed them in Devon. II., *Ibid.*, p. 54—'The great majority of the

Lord Wolseley's sketches of the Churchills and Drakes, of Ash house, and the valley of the Axe, and of all that surrounded Marlborough's childhood, show much research. and are very attractive; but our space precludes us from dwelling on them. The blood of the Cavalier and the Roundhead mingled in John Churchill; but his sympathies were on the side of the Cavaliers; he continued, through life, a Tory at heart. The boy learned the rudiments from a High Church Divine; was brought up in the chill shade of poverty; and witnessed at the Court of Claims, in Dublin, the miseries endured by loyal Irish gentlemen; these associations, Lord Wolseley truly remarks, had, in all probability, a strong influence on a powerful understanding, and a cautious nature. Young Churchill was for some time at St. Paul's, but he appears not to have learned much at school, though no inference, Lord Wolseley properly says, can be drawn from the fact that his spelling was bad, and his writings and speeches plainly show, that, as in the case of all vigorous

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English and Scotch subjects,' of Charles II., were certainly not 'Presbyterians and Nonconformists,' as Lord Wolseley asserts they were. III., *Ibid.*, p. 119—Napoleon Corr., 32, p. 146, charges Turenne with participating in the bad advice given by Louvois to Louis XIV., in 1672, and denies that Turenne made the recommendations Lord Wolseley mentions. IV., *Ibid.*, p. 124—Turenne was not left 'to complete the Conquest of Holland,' in 1673, as Lord Wolseley has written; in that year he was making one of his finest marches in Germany, while the French were over-running Holland; and he was ultimately outgeneralled by Montecuculli on the Main. Napoleon Corr., pp. 147-8., V. *Ibid.*, p. 272. 'The great Locke,' did not give '£400' to assist Monmouth in his enterprise; Lord Wolseley has confounded Locke with another person called Nicholas Locke, or Look. Macaulay, II., p. 123, Ed. 1858. VI., Vol. II., p. 8. The Prince of Wales was not born while 'the trial' of the Seven Bishops 'was proceeding;' he was born nearly three months before the trial. Macaulay, III., p. 98, 110. VII., *Ibid.*, p. 14. Skelton was not 'the English Ambassador at the Hague' in 1688; that post was held by Albeville. Macaulay, III., 100. VIII., *Ibid.*, p. 236. Lord Wolseley scarcely alludes to the fall of Mons, the capital event of the campaign of 1691, which provoked intense indignation against William III. in England. IX., *Ibid.*, p. 304. The treason of Marlborough in the affair of Brest was certainly not 'repeated,' as Lord Wolseley has said, 'as an historical fact for nearly two centuries;' it was not even suspected till long after Marlborough's death in 1722.

intellects, he could clearly and fully convey his meaning. It is a tradition that the lad read the work of Vegetius; but almost certainly he never made the history of war a special study; nor was he deeply versed in the learning of his art. He was at a disadvantage, in this, compared with Condé, trained in military knowledge from his teens, and to Turenne, who devoted laborious hours to the campaigns of Cæsar and Alexander's marches; and Churchill, besides, unlike these great soldiers, was not brought up among men of the sword.†

Churchill entered the Foot Guards in his eighteenth year, the first stage in his glorious career as a soldier. We need not inquire whether this preferment was due to the shame of Arabella, his sister; all that is certain is that James was a beneficent master, and a kind friend to him; and this circumstance must be kept in sight, in examining the servant's subsequent conduct. Lord Wolseley very properly condemns the extravagance of Macaulay and other writers, in denouncing, as an inexpiable sin, the amour of the young Guardsman with Barbara Palmer; assuredly, even in these decorous days, a beautiful and reckless woman of the world has seduced many a handsome boy. Churchill compares favourably, in the sphere of morals, with Condé, the most selfish of *roués*, and even with Turenne, whose

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† His genius, however, which consisted rather in inspiration, and judgment in the shock of battle, than in the large combinations of war, was not of the kind that owed much to learning; and Churchill, moreover, we must bear in mind, served, when young, under the eye of Turenne, experience and discipline of much greater value than anything the reading of books could afford. Marlborough cannot be deemed a profound student of war; but Lord Wolseley rushes into paradox, when, in comparing Marlborough with William III., that is a commander of the very first order, with a highly educated man of routine, he almost hints that the study of war is not of much use. No doubt, a great captain, like a great poet, is born, not made; but in the military, as in every other art, meditation, and the examination of what has been achieved, by consummate artists, is of immense importance. Napoleon was one of the most learned of soldiers; he has placed it on record that the best method of understanding war, in its highest aspects, is to master the campaigns of great warriors; and Moltke, in our day, has been a grand example, how industry and vast theoretical knowledge may, in some measure, supply the want of genius, and even accomplish prodigious success.



ill-starred passion for the Longueville led him fatally astray; a charge of this kind would have been never heard of, had there been nothing more against Marlborough's fame. As for Churchill's accepting money from a wealthy mistress, such things, Lord Wolseley remarks, were done in that age; we find instances, even in the circle of Versailles; and if the act shows the want of a nice sense of honour, it may at least be said that paid lovers of the Empress Catherine were some of the finest gentlemen of another day. Nor is there much in the accusation that the prudent gallant bought an annuity with his illgotten gains; this was by no means a very bad specimen of the misplaced parsimony, which was one of the least agreeable features of Marlborough's character. The excellence of Churchill, in his married life, is, as Lord Wolseley correctly observes, a complete set off to these youthful sins; unquestionably he was a model husband, in an age when conjugal virtue was almost unknown. Lord Wolseley has published a number of letters from Churchill to his wife, before and after marriage, which form not the least interesting part of the book; they touch the heart, after the lapse of centuries; they are instinct with passionate devotion and the deepest tenderness. As we read them we see the best side of Marlborough's complex and subtle nature; we are attracted to him despite his misdeeds, we feel that he was not a mere treacherous Harpagon. This profound affection, we must not forget, remained unchanged, though Marlborough's wife contributed to his tremendous fall; and it stood the trial of all that a violent woman could do to annoy an uxorious husband.

It was the fortune of Churchill, like Eugene and Moltke, to see war, for the first time, amidst the tribes of Islam; but his services at Tangiers were of no importance. He was in the fleet at Solebay in the Dutch War of 1672, was an officer in the expeditionary British force attached, for a time, to the French army, and was, for some years, in the camp of Turenne. He distinguished himself greatly at the siege of Maestricht, and was thanked, on the spot, by Louis XIV.; and he won golden opinions from Turenne for his heroism on the bloody day of Entzheim, and for the intelligence and valour he often displayed. There can be no doubt that this experience was most valuable in

his career afterwards; and though his genius was different from that of Turenne, the example and the skill of that illustrious chief must have taught him many a lesson in war. Lord Wolseley's account of these passages is somewhat vague, if not inaccurate; we are surprised he has not referred to the fact that Villars, the future adversary of the great Englishman, and a soldier of hardly inferior power, was a companion in arms of Churchill at this time, and was also conspicuous for his daring at the siege of Maestricht.\*

In 1678 Churchill became the husband of one of the most extraordinary women of that age. Lord Wolseley has properly dwelt, at some length, on the remarkable character of Sarah

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\* In this part of his book Lord Wolseley has sketched the state of the art of war in that age; but his description, as we have said, is misleading. He has selected the campaign of 1691, as a specimen of the military operations of the time; has asserted that war had still the contracted aspect of the siege operations of the First Nassaus; and has even denied that winter campaigns were common. All this conveys a very false impression: the campaign of 1691, and the campaign that followed, marked a period of retrogression in the military art,\* and contrast unfavourably with the great passages of arms of the last years of the Thirty Years War, and of the War closed by the Peace of Nimeguen; and to set up such a standard is a sheer fallacy. As to war being what it had been seventy years before, this ignores the revolution wrought by Gustavus, and even, in a greater degree, by Turenne, whose genius 'substituted his wars of marches for the wars of sieges before general;' and as to winter campaigns, we need only refer to Turenne's exploits in 1646, in 1673, and in 1674, noble examples of fine operations in winter. We have little doubt, we have said, that Lord Wolseley's object, in making these statements, was to place the genius of Marlborough in the fullest relief, and to maintain that he gave a new impulse to war; but he contradicts history in this respect; and, in our judgment, the most brilliant marches of the great War of the Spanish Succession are hardly equal to the best of those of Turenne, to whose extraordinary and original gifts, Lord Wolseley has done only scant justice. In his account too of the French Army of the time, Lord Wolseley omits the capital fact, that its infantry had been almost trebled by Turenne—a change that marked a new era in war (Napoleon Corr., 32, 146.)—and in his sketch of the fight of Entzheim, he contradicts Napoleon on a most important point—the able movement of Beurnonville against the French left wing.

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\* This is specially noted by Villars, I. 119. The Vogüe edition.

Jennings, for her influence on Marlborough's career was immense; but for her he might never have won Blenheim; but for her he might never have been disgraced in 1712. It is not improbable, Lord Wolseley has acutely remarked, that a vein of insanity ran through her being; her impatience of contradiction, her furious temper, her fixed passionate ideas seem allied to madness. Yet, undoubtedly, she was devoted, through life, to Marlborough, after her eccentric fashion, even if her love sometimes appeared coquettish, and was accompanied with sallies of untamed violence; the scandals told against her are all falsehoods. Lord Wolseley has also published some of her letters; they are less characteristic than those of Churchill, and reveal a vehement and uncertain nature; but they are affectionate, and, on the whole, pleasing; and they show what was the best and most human in her. For the rest, Atossa is a vindictive caricature; and no one can question the genuine love of the great Duchess for her renowned Lord. A visit to the Blenheim, of forty years ago, where every room and gallery contained tokens of affection to Marlborough placed by her hand, would have convinced the most sceptical on this subject.

We shall only glance at Lord Wolseley's account of the life of Churchill during the six years that followed. The admirable tact, and power of persuasion which made him the first diplomatist of his time, were evidently perceived, while he was still young; he was employed by Charles II. and the Duke of York in various missions of a delicate kind. Thus he was sent to negotiate with the Prince of Orange, with reference to some of those demonstrations against France, which were never sincerely meant by the King; and he repeatedly carried messages between the royal brothers, which prove that he fully possessed their confidence. The most marked feature, however, of this part of his career is the position he held as a favourite, and a friend of James, and the ascendancy of his wife, and his own, in his patron's councils. It is idle to say, as Lord Wolseley hints, that James did not do much for him; Churchill was made Gentleman of the Bed Chamber to the Duke of York, a Colonel and a General of Brigade; he obtained before long a Scotch Peerage; and James endeavoured to raise him to high office in the State. As to Sarah

Churchill, we need not repeat the story how she became Lady of the Bed Chamber to the Princess Anne; how Mrs. Freeman, almost from the first, was loved, honoured, and rewarded by Mrs. Morley; and how she acquired that influence over her mistress, which was to affect the fortunes of Europe. Lord Wolseley may insinuate that favours like these are trifles hardly deserving notice; this reminds us of the famous 'nothings' of Junius, in his scornful castigation of Sir William Drapier. The intimacy, too, of James and of Mary of Modena, with both the Churchill's was close and cordial, they all lived together in the many wanderings of the royal pair, in those troubled times; and we say again, this must be borne in mind, in considering the betrayal of a few years afterwards.

Churchill, in these years, took no part in politics, and refused, Lord Wolseley tells us, a seat in Parliament. We can hardly doubt, however, that, with his observant caution, he carefully watched the signs of the times; in his case, certainly, as in that of all the contemporary leading men of England, the influence of a revolutionary age, which sapped loyalty, destroyed faith and principle, and made life a scramble of selfishness, had a powerful and unhappy effect; and this, too, must be taken into account, in reviewing all that is worst in his conduct. On the accession of James, he was made a Peer of England, and—a plain mark of his acknowledged talents—he was despatched to Versailles to deal with Louis XIV., in one of those underhand bargains, which the great King made with his vassal of England. He soon afterwards obtained a command in the army, employed to put down the rising of Monmouth, though the incapable Feverisham was his chief; and, on this occasion, he displayed, for the first time, if on a small scale, and in a petty conflict, the powers of a real leader in war. Lord Wolseley's description of this brief campaign is one of the best parts of his book, and largely redeems its defects and errors. The narrative, if somewhat wanting in dramatic force, gives proof of true insight and sound judgment; the operations are placed clearly before us; and the story, on the whole, is admirably told.

We must, however, pass over the excellent account of the slow and hesitating advance of Monmouth, and of the timidity

and remissness of Feversham ; neither had the capacity of a true soldier. Nor can we dwell on the graphic description of the night attack on the rebel army, of the panic in the camp of Weston Zoyland, of the discomfiture in front of the Bussex Rhine, and of the ultimate destruction of Monmouth's levies. All this is exceedingly well told, save that Lord Wolseley, perhaps, has condemned Grey too severely for the defeat of his untrained horsemen, and has not sufficiently shown how the royal army was, in itself deficient in order and discipline, the one circumstance that gave its assailants a chance. The point to be noted is the skill displayed by Churchill in these operations, from first to last, and especially at Sedgemoor on the field. He hung on the flank of the rebels as they moved ; seized the initiative, while his superior lost it ; and often saw through the enemy's designs. His coolness and resource were admirable too, in encountering a sudden and perilous attack made in the midst of confusion and darkness ; and his readiness in directing his guns and his men to the decisive point where the fight was raging, and in charging across the Bussex Rhine exhibited the gifts of a true leader. In these movements, comparatively trifling as they were, we see a presage of the genius in war which shone out at Blenheim and Ramillies ; and Lord Wolseley has properly dwelt on them. We should add that he has done justice to the heroism and stubbornness of the ill-fated rebels ; he rightly sees what wonders religious fervour and patriotism have often achieved in the field.

Lord Wolseley dwells at considerable length on the misgovernment of James II., and describes his persistent and unwise attacks on the liberties, the laws, and the Church of England. He also sketches the foreign policy of the King ; sets clearly before us the views and the aims of Louis XIV. and the Prince of Orange, the great antagonists on the stage of Europe ; and shows how England was drawn, by the events of 1688, into the arena of a mighty Continental war. He owes, for his account of these remarkable years, more to Macaulay, than he would like to admit ; and it is a rash and feeble sally of his to call Macaulay 'an historical novelist.' His portrait of James is, however, well done, as is that of the voluptuous cynic Charles ; and he has

given us a very graphic picture of William III., of his profound ambition, his heroic nature, his calculating and unscrupulous craft, his ungainly presence, and his harsh cold manner, so thoroughly distasteful to English gentlemen. This part of the narrative is striking and good, but it is injured by what we must call irrelevance. In describing the position of France, England, and Holland at this time, Lord Wolseley repeatedly makes allusions to the European politics of these days; denounces our want of preparation for war, our unwise reliance on our navy alone, and the deficiency of our military force; and breaks out into sarcasms against the selfishness and short-sightedness of English parties and statesmen. All this is well enough in its place, but in the present work is beside the subject; a biography of Marlborough should not be mixed up with a pamphlet of the last years of the nineteenth century.

Churchill kept, as was his wont, aloof from politics, in the first years of the reign of James. We can readily believe that he viewed with displeasure, the oppressive and reckless conduct of the King; and we may accept Lord Wolseley's statement that he remonstrated against the ascendancy being given to Popery. This did not, however, prevent him from seeking preferment; he was raised to the rank of Lieutenant General, a short time before he abandoned his master. His first steps in treason were made after Dykvelt's mission; he joined the conspirators against James; and he wrote a plausible letter to the Prince of Orange, assuring him of his cordial support. He soon became one of the most powerful agents, in the intrigues that brought about, by underhand means, the fate of the Stuarts, and the Revolution of 1688; and a very few words will describe his conduct. His influence over the army, after Sedgemoor, was great; and, in all probability, it was he who arranged the defection of Cornbury, Kirke, and Trelawney. Meantime Lady Churchill had secured Anne; and the weak Princess, following the counsels of her friends, had willingly consented to betray her father. When the news of what Cornbury had done arrived, James entreated Churchill, and other officers to say if they would remain true; the professions of Churchill were loud and profuse; and he accompanied the King to Salisbury, to join the army, then at a



short distance from William's camp. At Salisbury Churchill urged his master to fight; he then suddenly threw off the mask; and, acting on a long preconcerted design, he went over with Grafton to the Prince of Orange, in open arms against Churchill's sovereign. This defection annihilated the power of James; his army soon proved a broken reed; and he fled to Whitehall to find his daughter gone, and his crown already fallen from his head. We may reject the statement that Churchill had meant to hand James over to the Prince of Orange; he always preferred dexterous, to violent measures.

It is impossible to excuse a betrayal like this, premeditated, cruel, perfidious, and base; yet some palliating circumstances may be borne in mind. It is vain, indeed, to urge that other public men acted after the same fashion as Churchill; they had not been from youth the familiar friends of James; they did not owe everything in life to him. But the demoralising and corrupting influences of the age, to which we have already adverted, to a certain extent, explain Churchill's conduct; the time was one of violent changes in affairs of State, of savage faction, of reckless scheming, of political profligacy of the extremest kind; and treason and disloyalty cease to appear criminal, when the sentiment of honour, and the sense of duty, have almost died out of the hearts of men, and they live, as it were from hand to mouth, for themselves only. Turenne has been called by a poet godlike, and has been described as an honour to mankind, by Montecuculli, his ablest foe; and yet Turenne, at a period not unlike that of 1688, abandoned his army, and was false to his trust, that is, was not free from guilt of the same type as Churchill's, if not equally odious and shocking. It is fair, too, to add that, in this instance, a real principle gave colour, at least, to treason. Churchill cannot be deemed a religious man; but he had, from childhood, the reverence of the Cavalier for the Church; and it is difficult to understand in our day, how powerfully this feeling affected conduct. Church stood before King in the Tory toast; the Church had been the rallying cry of the great Tory following for many troubled years; and the misgovernment of James had insulted the Church, and placed the whole institution in danger. It may justly be urged that

Churchill felt his allegiance divided at this crisis; in what he did he was 'falsely true;' insufficient and feeble as is the plea.

These considerations have not escaped Lord Wolseley; but he does not put them forward with sufficient fulness, for they are nearly all that can be alleged for Churchill. He slips out, too, angry words at his hero, as if to set things right with his conscience; but he, nevertheless, makes a defence for him which we must pronounce hopeless, and even frivolous. Lord Wolseley contends that, in this matter, Churchill acted from a lofty sense of duty, and was in the highest degree a patriot; his betrayal of his master was against his interests; in any case, he did lasting good to England; but pleas like these are trifling with the facts, or sophistry. Churchill's conduct was universally condemned at the time; even his fellow conspirators looked askance at him; his unhappy master cursed him as the worst of men; and Reresby expresses the general drift of opinion in recording that this desertion was deemed black ingratitude. As for Churchill's interest, he profited largely from the Revolution, and shared in its spoils; and it is reasonable to suppose that he believed he would possess immense influence under the new order of things, through his wife's instrument, the Princess Anne, though he was disappointed in this hope afterwards. That what he did was a national service, may be true; but who has excused Talleyrand in 1814, and Marmont, when he went into the camp of the Allies, on flimsy pretences, which ignore the real question at issue, their moral turpitude? In view of the plain facts, our gorge rises, when we read in these pages that 'in the virtues of public and private life,' Marlborough 'was far ahead of his contemporaries;' that 'no dispassionate judge can withhold his admiration for his manly, honest, and steadfast resolution' in destroying his master; and that he 'preferred the cause of the Reformation (!) to the loyal promptings of his heart, and to all immediate considerations of his own immediate interests.'

Churchill was created Earl of Marlborough by William III.; was made one of the Council of Nine who ruled England during the absence of the King; and received appointments, Macaulay

tells us, supposed to be worth £12,000 a year; his disinterested patriotism proved a real god-send. It deserves notice that, as soon as he had climbed to power, the charges of peculation, extortion, and greed, which proved fatal afterwards, were made against him; exaggerated as they may be, they cannot be dismissed by the passing denial of Lord Wolseley. Marlborough distinguished himself at the bloody skirmish of Walcourt, described with some spirit in these pages; it would have been well for our army had he been in command in the Low Countries in the campaigns that followed. He remained, however, for the most part, at home, while William and his Dutch lieutenants conducted the war, and the consequences must be pronounced unfortunate. Lord Wolseley dwells on the long doubtful contest in Ireland, and justly remarks that it reflects little credit on the capacity of the King and his generals. One point of considerable importance he omits: William failed to secure the command of the sea, as Cromwell had secured it forty years before, and this was attended with bad results; the conduct of the operations on the two occasions presents indeed a remarkable contrast. The combined naval power of Holland and England ought to have made this advantage certain; but it was misdirected and even wasted; and this was the real cause of the defeat of Beachy Head, which placed the Revolution in extreme danger. The one bright episode, in fact, in the war in Ireland, was Marlborough's attack on Cork and Kinsale, operations admirably told by Lord Wolseley, and which again give proof of Marlborough's powers. These strokes were aimed at a vital point, the communications of the French army by sea; and ultimately they led to important success. We are surprised that Lord Wolseley, who understands what patriotism and a strong faith can accomplish in war, has not noticed the heroic qualities displayed at Londonderry and Limerick alike.

Lord Wolseley notices the campaigns of William in Belgium, and comments on his slow and ill-conceived movements. He has not done justice to one great quality of the King, his indomitable constancy in evil fortune, and his account is plainly intended to mark a contrast with Marlborough's splendid exploits on the same theatre of war. William, however, was not a great

captain; he was conscious of this, and expressed his regret that he had not served under the grand Condé, his adversary on the field of Seneffe, and probably the issue of Steinkirk and Landen would have been different had Marlborough commanded the allied army. An admirer of genius turns with grief and shame to its dismal eclipse in the years that followed. William had been hardly seated on the throne when Marlborough began to plot against him; he entered into a correspondence with James, and grovelled at his late master's feet, and he informed Jacobite agents, Lord Wolseley admits, of what the Government knew their movements; may be sent intelligence to Saint Germain's 'of naval and military plans' arranged at the Council Board at Whitehall. Here, again, something may be said to extenuate, if justification or excuse are impossible. The settlement of the Revolution was extremely insecure; several late ministers of the exiled sovereign concurred with Marlborough in these acts of treason, and undoubtedly they were strongly tempted to provide for their own safety by hedging with Fortune, and dealing with James, in the not unlikely chance, that he might regain the crown he had lost. Marlborough, too, had special and potent reasons to resent much that had lately happened. He had been coldly treated by William and Mary at Court; he had been baffled in his hope of gaining immense authority through the agency of the Princess Anne; above all, conscious as he was of his military gifts, he felt bitterly that foreigners, not to be compared to him, had been placed over his head in superior command. If a legitimate King, moreover, in that age could not expect loyalty from a subject, a usurper certainly could not look for it.

Once more Lord Wolseley refers to the facts which may be urged on behalf of Marlborough, but, as before, he hardly relies on them, and he has suggested a defence of no value whatever. Marlborough, he says, was angling for a pardon from James, and was not sincere in his negotiations with him; he did not intend to betray the Revolution and England. But the question is one of a moral nature, of the character to be affixed on Marlborough's conduct, and it does not lessen his guilt, nay, it makes it worse, if he was deceiving the late King as well as William, and was playing the part of a double traitor. A spy is not the less a spy.

if he resorts to both camps and acts the part of a villain in both, and this casuistry only aggravates the case.

We come next to the affair of Brest, and to Marlborough's share in it, and here his champion, too, has proved a complete failure. The British expedition was defeated, and Talmash was slain, because the French had been put on their guard by communications from England to Versailles, and one of these confessedly was made by Marlborough. Lord Wolseley imagines that he has relieved his hero from blame for a most atrocious act of treachery—it would have sent him to Tower Hill, even in that bad age, had it been known or even suspected—by alleging that Marlborough's letter had been forestalled, and that others had sent the information before him. Undoubtedly Marlborough was not the first in the field, and the intelligence he gave was what is called 'stale news,' but we are at a loss to perceive how this diminishes, even in the slightest degree, the guilt of conduct which consisted in telling an enemy a fact of supreme importance to him. If it could be shown, indeed, that Marlborough knew that the information he sent had been sent already, this would not make him less morally culpable, but it would place him in a less odious light; unhappily, the evidence points the opposite way. Marlborough's letter contains the damning words: 'It is but this day that it came to my knowledge what I send to you;' he was, therefore, not aware that the message he conveyed, of the expedition to Brest, had been conveyed previously. It is significant, and very suggestive beside, that Talmash had been preferred to him; we need not indicate the possibly terrible inference.

The conduct of Marlborough on this occasion stands out as the worst act of his life, and even palliation is here impossible. Some time previously he had been dismissed, with marked ignominy, from the service of the King, and his wife and the Princess Anne were involved in his fall. Notwithstanding Macaulay's prodigious research, these occurrences have not been fully explained; but Lord Wolseley's account is very misleading. Lord Wolseley does not believe that Marlborough's project to induce Parliament to remove from England the Dutch officers, and the Dutch regiments—that is to deprive

the King of his best supporters—had the restoration of James in view ; but it is absolutely certain that James and William suspected at least that this was his purpose. Nor does Lord Wolseley examine the question, whether the plan of Marlborough was not a deep design to place Anne on her father's throne, and through her to become supreme in England, setting both William and James aside. Many Jacobites thought this was his object, and on this very ground they informed to Bentinck against him. That the man who afterwards sought to obtain an absolute control over the British army, and who was held up to odium as a second Cromwell, was capable of such an intention, is not impossible ; and the subserviency of Anne, to Marlborough and his wife, made her, we must recollect, a mere tool in their hands. Lord Wolseley endeavours to show that the disgrace of Marlborough was mainly due to comparatively trifling causes ; to the personal animosity of the King and the Queen ; to ill-natured gossip that reached their ears ; to intrigues of the Bed Chamber and the Palace ; but this is contradicted by the known evidence. It appears certain that William believed Marlborough to be a plotter of a very dangerous kind, and Sarah to be, at least, an accomplice ; and Anne was harshly treated because she would not give up friends who, it was tolerably well known, were devising treason.

Marlborough, after these events, was sent to the Tower, and perhaps narrowly escaped a miserable death. He owed much to the desperate men, who, very inferior to him in the genius of intrigue, were endeavouring to restore the exiled house of Stuart. He was falsely accused by Young and Fenwick : with characteristic adroitness and resource, turned the charges made by Young to his own advantage, but remained banished from the Court for a time. He regained by degrees the favour of William ; was appointed governor of the young Duke of Gloucester, and ultimately was made Commander-in-chief of our forces in Belgium, and negotiated the grand alliance of 1701, in conjunction with the King. We need not dwell on the causes of this return of fortune, they are set forth by Lord Wolseley and other writers. William knew that Marlborough was a skilled diplomatist, and a soldier of the very highest promise ; if he distrusted him, he



could not dispense with his services; and, besides, Queen Mary was dead, the King's days were numbered; Anne was about to ascend the throne; the Act of Settlement had become law; and Marlborough had the strongest possible interest to maintain the existing order of things in England. Lord Wolseley has thrown fresh light on the protracted councils which inaugurated the great League against Louis XIV.; he has clearly brought out Marlborough's wisdom and tact, especially in the management of English public men, and he is doubtless correct in hinting that Marlborough played a greater part in these negotiations than the dying King. Lord Wolseley, however, has here made a mistake, in all probability a slip of the pen, in describing the arrangements made by the Grand Alliance; he states that it was one of the terms of the compact, that 'a transfer,' of 'the Spanish Crown,' was not to be made 'to any member of the Bourbon family;' but the allies in 1701 were willing to leave Spain to Philip of Anjou. The point is important, if we recollect the war policy of the Whigs in 1711-12; the ambitious and selfish conduct of Marlborough, and the long negotiations before the Peace of Utrecht.

Lord Wolseley's volumes end at this point; we shall eagerly look forward to the remaining parts of this work. His account of Blenheim and Ramillies will, no doubt, be excellent, and we especially wish to read his comments on Marlborough's great march from the Meuse to the Danube, a movement, we believe, inspired by Eugene, unavoidable perhaps, as affairs stood, and executed with consummate skill; but, nevertheless, hazardous in the highest degree, and hardly a specimen of the best type of strategy.\* We shall also expect a careful description of the state of English and foreign politics at the time; of the ascendancy of Marlborough and his wife in our Councils; of the furious and reckless strife of parties in the State; of the quarrel of Sarah Jennings and Anne Stuart, and finally of Marlborough's fall from his high estate; here we shall only remark, that we hope Lord Wolseley will not, as he has already done, misinterpret

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\* Napoleon has made notes on this campaign never published. Could not Lord Wolseley see these? It is believed they are in the Louvre.

Swift. The capital fault of this work is that the author represents Marlborough as a high-souled being, soiled, no doubt, by the corrupted currents of the age, but essentially a noble, and pure minded patriot. This ideal, we believe, is absolutely false; and Marlborough, we fear, if the most gifted and illustrious of the Englishmen of his day, was also one of the most self-seeking, the most unscrupulous, the most devoid of conscience, and principle. Yet there were special reasons why this great man was singled out for contempt and odium; Lord Wolseley would have done better to set these out, than to attempt a description contradicted by the facts. Marlborough was an obscure man, who rose through his own genius, a kind of rise that usually provokes jealousy; his avarice and greed if to be ascribed, perhaps, in some degree, to his youth of privations, were vices particularly disliked in that age; he did not permanently belong to any party in the State, shifted from one to the other, and was abused by both; he was a royal favourite, with his wife, for years, possessing extraordinary power and influence, a position always viewed with distrust by Englishmen; and he was suspected of a design to reach supreme power, and to overthrow our laws and liberties by his sword. These considerations largely explain why he was pursued with ferocious obloquy; they must be borne in mind in judging his conduct, and Lord Wolseley ought to have placed them in striking relief. We have freely condemned a great deal in this book, but we have done justice, we hope, to its real merits.

WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS.

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### ART. III.—THREE TALES OF THE FIANN.

IF but one half of all that Celtic scholars and students of folklore have written about Fionn and the Fiann within the past quarter of a century has taken effect on the general reader, it ought to be the case with their story as with that of Alexander in Chaucer's time, of whom he says—

'That every wight that hath discretioun  
Hath heard somewhat or all of his fortune.

Still there is much left to do for the worker who comes after even John F. Campbell, and the Fiann have yet to find a Sir Thomas Malory to sum up their multiplex legend into an artistic whole, and it would be a legend of chivalry too, though as different from the Arthurian romance as that is from the tale of Troy. If the recent revival in Irish literature takes firm root such a masterpiece may not be so remote after all, but the writer who attempts it will have to peruse and digest a vast amount of material, ten times more than any one who has not studied the subject would ever dream of. The author of the 'Colloquy with the Ancients,'\* had such an idea before him in his day, but the legend kept on growing for long after that. A large section of the materials for such a work belongs to the period of Irish literature which has of late received least attention, namely, that contained for the most part in Irish manuscripts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which exist in large numbers in Dublin and the British Museum, while the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh has a sufficient number of specimens to attest their former prevalence in Scotland. The reasons why these have been so much neglected in the recent study of Gaelic literature are that they are not old enough for the philologist or student of primitive culture, and not new enough for the collector of folklore. The philologist is not particularly interested in the language of the period to which they belong; on the customs of early society they can throw no original light, and the folk-lorist sets them aside for the reason that they are too obviously works of fiction to be relied on in matters of fact.

This rejection of these tales by scientific enquirers ought not, however, to dismiss them from all serious attention: there may be much that is good in them though useless for their special purposes. There is indeed perhaps a little danger at present of Irish literature being judged only by the value of its texts for such objects of research, and taken too little on its own merits. A great part of the good literature of any language would have to be left out of consideration if judged by this standard alone,

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\* *Agallamh na Senorach*, the text and translation of which may be found in Dr. O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*.

and the literary aims of the old Irish story-tellers ought to be taken into account as well as any incidental light their works may throw on problems of language or the history of culture.

Even for the student of folk-lore a knowledge of these tales is necessary, for however little they may contain for him in themselves, they may often throw a search-light on what is found in the oral tradition of the present day. The passion for the living word is indeed one of the snares of folk-lore, which sometimes entraps itself by accepting as genuine tradition what really came from written sources not so very far back. When the words of the illiterate Gael are zealously taken down and printed, it might be not unadvisable also to take a look at his great-grandfather's manuscripts, which are often much more worth printing. The preference for a 'plain unvarnished tale' is a principle right in itself, but it is as well to make quite sure that the plainness has not been attained by a simple process of detrition from the literary original.

This is a caution that applies particularly to Scottish Gaelic tradition. Of course, wherever the question is one of ordinary popular folk-lore—the common *märchen*—we are in a region where written literature has played but a small part, in most cases none at all; but whenever we touch on any point of genuine Celtic legend, dealing with purely Celtic heroes, there is every chance that the oral tradition is a more or less distorted version of some older written tale. It must be remembered that down to the '45 the trained bards were learned in Irish literature, and this period is the only safe starting point for any Highland legend relating to the heroes of the Gaelic cycles. Before that date any deviation from the ordinary tale could be checked by the written version which it was part of the bard's education to know, and that such written versions were in their hands is proved not only by the evidence given at the enquiry into Ossian's poems, but by the actual MSS. still preserved. In fact, the whole question of Fenian (or Ossianic) tradition in Scotland is conditioned by the existence of these MSS. The ballads collected in the second half of last century need not have passed through many hands before being again written down by men like Stone and Kennedy. The accuracy with which many of them are preserved

may only be the result of a very recent derivation from written copies.

Both the points involved above are well illustrated by the tales to be treated of here. In point of language and of folklore they are of little value, and therefore apt to be neglected by the scientist, though from a literary point of view they are clever and interesting compositions. Again, we find imperfectly remembered versions of them taken down in Scotland in 1800, and again in 1859, which are instructive instances of what happens to literary works when reproduced in oral tradition.

These 'Bruighean'\* tales, as we may call them for shortness, from the common element in each, are a few out of the many which belong to the cycle of Gaelic legend relating to Fionn and the Fiann. This was the one most beloved by the later Irish tale-tellers, and the only one that was at all well known in the Scottish Highlands. To judge from the mass of literature it produced, both in prose and verse, it must have been quite as popular and of as perennial interest as the Troy-cycle in Greece, or the Arthurian romances in France and England. In the case of all of these the amount of ingenious brains expended on elaborating the original tradition must have been prodigious; in that of the Fionn-cycle we can fortunately see a great deal of the growth of the legend, from the small grain of tradition in the 'Cause of the Battle of Cnucha,' preserved in the 'Book of the Dun Cow,' down to encyclopædic works like the 'Colloquy with the Ancients,' and all the separate prose tales and ballads that group themselves round the Fiann.

One reason for this great popularity is to be found in the turn which the legend took. It grew up during the epoch when the strong grip of Scandinavia on Ireland was being loosened finger by finger. Of this struggle, Clontarf in 1014 and the fall

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\* *Bruighean* (more correctly written *Bruidhean*, = O. Ir. *bruden*, but the scribes generally use the *gh*: both *dh* and *gh* sound as *y*) means a 'palace,' and is so used in the older Irish tales. In the ones here in question it perhaps has an added idea of 'enchantment.' See a note on the various meanings of the word in O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, Part 2, p. xvi.

of Magnus Berfætr in 1103, were two of the most glorious days, the latter of which left its mark on the Fionn-legend in the 'Lay of Manus,' one of the commonest of the ballads. The conception then formed of Fionn as the defender of Ireland against everything Scandinavian was a brilliant idea, and there were good heads ready to carry it out. He was fitted into history; a place was found for him as generalissimo of the militia of Erin in the days of Cormac mac Art, monarch of Ireland in the third century. The Cuchulaind-cycle supplied the leading features; as Cuchulaind to Conchobhair, so Fionn to Cormac: replace the Connaughtmen under Ailill and Meyve by the Norsemen and their various allies, earthly and unearthly, and the story of Fionn is firmly set on foot. In 'Manus' and some of the other ballads actual fighting with real Norsemen appears in a form that might almost be historical, but the writers of the prose tales preferred less ordinary incidents and could only get under full sail by launching into the world of magic and superhuman beings. The personages with whom the Fionn have to deal at various times are wonderful enough—terrible hags, one-eyed giants and giantesses, and still more mysterious creatures; but worse than these separate enemies is their having against them the whole tribe of the Tuatha De Danann.\* This people, which plays a great part in early legend under the leadership of the Dagda, is in Fionn's time relegated to a kind of invisible life, only appearing for the sake of causing him trouble. There is perhaps a slight inconsistency in this, for the Tuatha De Danann are celebrated for their struggles with the invading Fomhoraigh, and as these, even in the Cuchulaind legend, are identified with the Norsemen, one would rather have expected them to assist the Fiann against their Norse enemies. As a matter of fact, all their magical powers are exerted on the side of Lochlann.

In the tales with which we are here concerned, the troubles

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\* i.e. The Peoples of the Gods of Danu, whose names are given as Brian, Iuchair and Iucharba, sons of Danu. They were reckoned as the second colony in Ireland, and several of the most striking Irish legends are referred to their time, such as the Fate of the Children of Lir and that of the Children of Tuireann.



of the Fiann are caused by these Tuatha De Danann, either on their own account or in combination with the Norsemen. The texts in question are of frequent occurrence in Irish MSS. of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and bear the following titles, taking them in order of length:—

1. *Bruighean Cheise Chorrain*, 'the Enchanted Cave of Keshcorran,' which is situated in the parish of Toomour, barony of Corran, in County Sligo. Texts of the tale are pretty common, and it has been twice printed of late, first in O'Grady's '*Silva Gadelica*' (Text, p. 306; Trans., p. 343), and again from a different MS. in the Boston *Irish Echo* (Vol. IV., No. 2). There seems to be no trace of this tale in Scottish Gaelic tradition, but a version of it occurs in the Ardechonail MS., Advocates' Library, No. XXXVI., different from either of the ones mentioned above.

2. *Bruighean Eochaidh bhig dheirg*, 'the Palace of little red Eocha,' which has also appeared in Dublin of late in *Bláithfhleasg de Mhílseáinibh na Gaoidheilge* ('A Garland of Gaelic Selections'), edited by Patrick O'Brien. The text of this edition is made up from three Dublin MSS. A copy of the tale is found in the Advocates' Library, MS. No. LVI., agreeing almost verbally with the printed text. That the tale was commonly known in Scotland is shown by the version of it in Staffa's Collection, made in 1801-3, and printed by Campbell in the '*Leabhar na Feinne*,' p. 89. There it is entitled '*Turus Fhinn do Thigh Odhacha-Beaganich*,' or the '*Journey of Fionn to the House of Odhacha-Beaganich*;' connected with it is the ballad of the '*Black Dog*,' an incident which occurs in the original tale and seems to have taken the fancy of reciters (cf. L. na F. pp. 90-93). Another version taken down in 1859 in Barra is printed in Campbell's *West Highland Tales*, Vol. II., p. 89. Both of these versions must have come from the written copies at some earlier date.

3. *Bruighean Chaorthainn*, the Rowan-tree Palace, the full text of which does not seem to have yet found its way into print, but is common enough in MSS. In those of the Advocates' Library there are three versions of the story. One is in the MS. No. XXXIV., written at Dunstaffnage by Ewen MacPhail

in 1603,\* which is one of the oldest copies of the tale extant. From a transcript of this MS. made in 1804 by the Rev. Donald MacIntosh, about half of the tale is printed by Campbell in the 'Leabhar na Feinne' (pp. 86-88), but in a form which is very inaccurate and often absolutely unintelligible. This is the more to be regretted as the tale is by far the cleverest of the three, and well deserves to be properly edited. Another copy is in MS. No. XXXVIII. and the third in No. LVIII.; both of these present a different text, with a greater superfluity of description—a tendency which is often carried to excess in such tales.

From its nature the tale was certain to be popular with reciters, and a version of it taken down in 1859 may be found in Campbell's *West Highland Tales* (Vol. II., p. 192), who rightly identifies it with the *Bruighean Chaorthainn*. An incidental reference to it in Lachlan Mackinnon's poem of the *Biodag thubaisreach*, shows also that the tale was generally known in his time. Another 'Bruighean' tale connected with the Fiann is the '*Bruighean bheag na h-Almhaine*,' which Dr. O'Grady prefers to translate by 'The Little Brawl at Almhain' (Allen), but this is a humorous account of a row in Fionn's palace, arising out of a dispute between himself and Goll, and has nothing in common with the foregoing tales. In thus grouping the stories together as 'Bruighean' tales we follow the example of the Irish tale-

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\* This MS. also contains a version of the '*Bruighean bheag na h-Almhaine*' (another copy of it is in the Ardehonail MS., No. XXXVI.) The entries of the scribe are exceedingly interesting and deserve to be quoted. At the end of the *Bruighean Chaorthainn* he writes:—

'This buik pertening to ane honourable mane callit Eowin mak Phailt wretter heirof, he or sche that stailis this buik frae me, God nor he be hangit on ane trie, and sche be drownit upone ane sea. Amen for me, amen for thé, amen for all the companye.'

Another is a letter to John O'Connor, for whom the MS. seems to have been written, and is half in Gaelic and half in Scottish.

'Beannacht friot, beannacht chugad, Eoin Ui Conchubhair, agus biodh a fhios agad nach ar sgriobh mé ach beag don leabhar fós, agus gur é is adhbhar dosin nach roibhe agum caibidil do bhi uaim isin leabhar, oir is olc leam a bheith naim. na mair but sua committis committis yow to God from Dunstaffiniche, the xxii day of october the yeur of God 1603 yeires. EGUIN MAC PHAILL.'

In this Ewan explains that his delay in writing the MS. was caused by the want of a chapter in the copy he had.

tellers themselves, who distinguished the different classes of narratives by titles which at once gave a clue to their contents. Thus in the text last mentioned (Silva Gad., p. 379) we read how the bard went to Goll 'and in front of him recited the *bruidhne* or "Forts," the *toghla* or "Destructions," the *tána* or "Cattle-liftings," the *tochmarca* or "Woosings" of his elders and progenitors.' By reason of the extraordinary feats of memory expected of them the bards and tale-tellers had to systematize largely; indeed nowhere was traditional lore so systematically arranged and elaborated as in Ireland. This grouping was to some extent natural in dealing with real traditions, for the incidents in early society worth remembering of course belong to a few types, such as those enumerated above. In the case of sheer fiction, however, the one tale most probably suggested the other, the fix of the Fiann in one *bruighean* would lead other imaginative heads to invent new ones. It would of course be impossible to say which of our tales came first, but a natural order will be one rising from the simple to the complex,—from the Cave of Keshcorran through the Palace of Eocha to that of the Rowan tree.

I. The story of Keshcorran is simple and may be very briefly told, especially as the translation can easily be got in the Silva Gadelica,—a translation too that excellently reproduces the style in which these tales are written, a style intended to carry the reader or hearer along with it without being too critical as to the possibility of the incidents.

The Fiann were hunting in the district of Corran, and Fionn, with only Conan mac Morna beside him, sat on the top of Keshcorran listening to the music of the chase. In Keshcorran however ruled Conaran, of the Tuatha De Danann, who sent his three daughters, witches all of them, to entrap Fionn. These sat down at the mouth of the cave, hung three hanks of yarn on three pins of briarwood (or holly) and began to wind them 'withershins.' Fionn and Conan came upon them while they were thus engaged, and at the sight of the horrible hags and by the power of the magic all strength left them; the hags bound them fast and thrust them into the cave. All the Fiann met the same fate band by band, until all of them lay bound in the

cave. The three hags now came with their swords to execute their prisoners, but as they were about to enter the cave they saw a youth approaching. This was Goll mac Morna, who wore a shirt given him by Mananan mac Lir that rendered him proof against all sorcery. In the fight that followed Goll cut two of the hags right in two with one stroke, which is reckoned, in the usual systematic way, as one of the three greatest blows ever given in Ireland, the others being 'the blow given by Fergus in the battle of the Cattle-raid of Cuailgne, when he cut at one blow the three Maels of Meath, and the blow given by Conall Cernach to Cet mac Magach,' which latter is told of in the 'Tale of MacDatho's Pig.'

The elder of the three hags now came behind Goll and clasped her arms round him, but after a hard wrestling match Goll succeeded in binding her with the straps of his shield. To save her life she released the Fiann. Another sister now came upon them of still more hideous look; 'a small apple or a large sloe would have stuck fast upon every hair of her eye-lashes and eyebrows,' and the rest of her person corresponding. She demanded single combat with any of the Fiann, but, Ossian and all the others drawing back, Goll had again to take the champion's place, and after a hard bout succeeded in putting his sword through her. He then burned the *bruighean*, and divided the wealth among the Fiann, while Fionn rewarded him with his daughter in marriage.

The object of this tale seems to be the glorification of Goll,\* as in other respects it is not a very ingenious composition, its best features being the descriptions of the hags and of the hunting. By the want of dialogue and of complexity of plot it falls much below the other two, which also contain a humorous element that very successfully relieves the distress of the Fiann. This humorous element is furnished by the hero mentioned at

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\* In the 'Tiomna Ghuill,' (Goll's testament), the hero reckons this incident among his great exploits :—

'Inghfón Conoráin nach ar shlim  
do mharbhus i a g-ceart comhluian;  
do thugas an inghfón eile slán  
go n-a h-airm ghinntlidhe.'

the beginning of the last tale, Conan mac Morna, or to give him his full title '*Conán maol na mallacht, i., fear millte agus mór-bhuaidheartha gacha cuideachta,*' 'bald cursing Conan, destroyer and annoyer of every company,'\* who acts as a perennial Thersites among the Fiann. It was a bright inspiration, one that must have been due to the Irish sense of humour, to supply the great heroes with this persistent grumbler and mischief-maker; perhaps one might have found the Iliad more interesting, if less sublime, had Homer carried Thersites right through it. In the *Bruighean Eochaidh* and *Bruighean Chaorthainn* Conan appears at his very best.

II. The 'Palace of little red Eochaidh' runs as follows. Fionn was hunting in Galway, where a monster stag made its appearance every seventh year but could never be caught. The day before Hallowmas (which was the beginning of the Celtic year and a dangerous period for sorcery), while in this district, the Fiann asked him to give them a general entertainment.

'Conan mac Morna,' said Fionn, 'invite all the Fiann of Erin.'

'Long have you and all the Fiann cherished anger and ill-will against the Clan Morna,' said Conan, 'and if I omit a single company of the Fiann from the invitation they will be seeking to do me harm both secretly and openly for ever.'

Conan accordingly suggested Caoilte as a proper person to invite them, and on his agreeing to do so, Galgaoithe was commissioned to give the invitations. Just then fifteen of the Fiann, including Ossian, Osgar, Dermid and Conan, went off to the side of a knoll to play chess and Galgaoithe missed them. On discovering his omission he went up to them, drawing his sword as he approached, and asked Ossian kindly to cut off his head as the penalty of his forgetfulness. Ossian refused, but suggested that Conan was the very man for the purpose.

'I won't cut off the head of the like of him,' said Conan.

'What is the like of me?' said Galgaoithe.

'Well do I know that,' said Conan; 'do you know why you are called Galgaoithe?'

'No,' said he.

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\* So too in the 'Colloquy,'—'Conan *maol*, or 'the bare' mac Morna; a breeder of quarrel among followers, a malicious mischief-maker in army and in host.' Silv. Gad., p. 155.

'I do, though,' said Conan; 'it is because you are one that would spring aloft with pain (*gaoth*) and fear when you heard the shout of battle or conflict; I never yet cut off the head of a coward or madman, and I certainly will not begin with you.'

'I won't stand being insulted and affronted any longer by you,' said Galgaoithe, and went off in a rage.

Whether Galgaoithe had anything to do with what follows is not so clear, but soon after his departure a beautiful young warrior came up to the company, who said he had come to invite Fionn and the seven battalions of the regular Fiann to pay him a visit and stay with him till Beltane, 'for I have a feast waiting for them.'

'Don't do that,' said Conan, 'take my advice. Here are we, fifteen of the Fiann, nobles of the Fiann to boot, Ossian, Osgar, Dermid, and other good men whose names I don't mention; wherever they are, one might say the whole Fiann were there. Fionn would like you to give the feast to them, and we could put the fame of it in the mouths of learned men and historians, and poets, and readers of books over all the world if you will take us with you to consume it. Another reason why you should not take any more than us with you is that all the Fiann are invited already except these fifteen.'

'I would rather,' said the hero, 'that the five provinces of Ireland went with me all together than that the feast I have prepared were not consumed.'

Then he gave each of them an apple; Conan took a bite out of his, and his example was followed by the others.

'Have you all eaten your apples?' said he.

'We have,' said Conan, 'and every mischief be upon me\* if ever we heard a tune played that we would think sweeter than getting our fill of these.'

'Well then,' said the youth, 'I have seven orchards of these apples, and you shall get your fill of these till Beltane comes. I wonder if you will go along me to my residence.'

'Every mischief upon me,' said Conan, 'why shouldn't we go along with you? We will bear down the fawns with the swiftness of our career.'

The youth gathered up his skirts and went off like a swallow, over glens and greens, inners and sandy shores, till the shades of evening fell, and after him went the fifteen Fianna.

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\* This is Conan's regular preface to his remarks all through the story, hence his title of *mallachtach*, 'cursing.'



'Fianna of Erin,' said the youth, 'Your swiftness has been put to the test, and you are no great runners. That is my palace over there : go on before me and make a fire in it, till I search out some food for you.'

'Ill have we fared,' said they, 'if our food has to be provided now.'

They went into the palace, and Conan lighted a fire, while Ossian studied the surroundings.

'There is not a calf's or cattle beast's bed in Ireland,' said he, 'that I have not been in some time of the day or night, either sitting or lying, sleeping or waking, but I don't know the place I am in now. It seems to me that I have been transported out of Ireland altogether.'

All the Fiann said the same except Dermid, who said nothing, and Ossian presently asked his reason. Dermid answered that he had a suspicion which could be verified by looking whether there was a huge rock beside the door of the palace. Conan went out and found it, and Dermid then told how he and Fionn had once slept there when out hunting. In his sleep Fionn kicked Dermid in the breast, and on being wakened by Dermid piercing the soles of his feet, told what he had been dreaming, to wit, that a *bruighean* would be placed there in which the Fiann would one day be in danger at the hands of Eochaidh Beag Dearg and the Tuatha De Danann, which had now come to pass.

Meanwhile Fionn and the seven battalions of the Fiann had accepted the invitation of a husbandman, and the Fiann had all gone to his house, where at evening they were joined by Fionn. The latter by means of putting his thumb under his 'tooth of vision,'\* discovered the strait in which the others were, and set off to assist them without the knowledge of any one. His young son, however, Aodh Beag ('Little Aodh') saw and followed him, and being discovered by Fionn on the way, the two went on together. Their arrival was hailed with great joy by the fifteen. Before long Eochaidh made his appearance.

'May the high gods bless you, Fionn mac Cumhail,'† said he, 'better is the place to which you have come, and worse is the place you have left. I have some other guests outside here, and I should like you to give them one side of the house.'

'Who are they?' said Fionn.

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\* Compare the use of this in the *Bruighean Chaorthainn*.

† The old Lowland Scots wrote this phonetically as 'Fyn mak Coul.'

'Aodh mac Aodha, and three hundred valiant heroes of the Tuatha De Danann along with him.'

'Let them come in,' said Fionn.

These three hundred were soon followed by an equal number under Conn mac Aodha, and before long there also came in Cabhlach, the daughter of Aodh, and three hundred amazons along with her, all armed with short bows, that were never aimed without hitting, and never hit without killing. After these had all entered, Fionn made Conan doorkeeper.

'I accept the post,' said Conan, 'and every mischief upon me if I let one person out that is inside, or one in that is outside, except with your leave.'

(1.) The rest of the tale then turns on Conan's troubles as doorkeeper. First of all there came up an ugly youth, shock-headed, goggle-eyed, big-nosed, wide-mouthed, who was admitted and told by Fionn to sit down on the other side of the house.

'I won't sit down,' said he, 'but if I knew which was the best man on the one side or the other, I would take him out of his seat, and sit down in his place.' \*

'I tell you,' said Fionn, 'that the bald man east there beside the door is the best of us.'

The youth straightway seized Conan and threw him outside into the pool of dirty water in front of the door, and sat down in his place. Conan instantly returned, and there was a royal wrestling match in which the Fiann encouraged Conan and the Tuatha De Danann the youth, until Conan threw him to the ground, split his head with his sword, and threw his body in the pool. Cabhlach now arose to avenge the youth, who was her brother, and Conan, tired out with the previous struggle, was thrown into the pool, where the hag was proceeding to behead him, when he besought the help of Dermid. Dermid rose to assist him, but Fionn stopped him.

'It is *tabu* † to me,' said he, 'to take away the advantage gained by any one in single combat, and I will not take it from her.'

\* This is a practice very common in the Icelandic Sagas.

† 'Is *geasa* damh-sa.' The Irish *geas* answered to the Maori *tabu*, and occurs *passim* throughout these tales. Some of the *geasa* attached to different persons are of the most curious description.

Dermid being thus prevented from going to Conan's assistance, 'the strength of his shoulder went to his elbow and the strength of his elbow to his fingers, and he put his fingers to the silken string of his spear and made a choice throw of it at the hag, but Fionn caught it by the shaft and stopped it. Then he shook a drop of poison from the point of the spear on the hag, with which he took away two-thirds of her strength.'

This gave Conan an opportunity to free himself and he succeeded in mastering the hag; to save her head she offered him a ransom.

'What is the ransom,' said Conan.

'This,' said she; 'there is not a bush or cavern for a whole cantred round about that is not filled with Tuatha De Danann bent on killing you. You are but seventeen Fianna in all, and I have three hundred amazons here under my orders, with three hundred bows that never send out an erring shot; all that assistance I will take from the Tuatha De if you spare me.'

'Shall I accept this, Fionn?' asked Conan.

'Don't refuse any assistance you can get,' said Fionn.

So Conan released her and she retired with her band.

(2.) Conan sat down again by the door, and before long noticed the Tuatha De looking out with an air of satisfaction on their faces. Conan also looked out, and saw a second visitor approaching,—a youth leading a black dog by an iron chain, 'and it is a marvel that she did not set the *bruighean* in a blaze with every spark of fire that came out of her mouth and over her jaw.' The youth entered and asked Fionn to let his dog have 'her fill of fighting.'

'Every mischief on the mouth that mentioned it,' said Conan, 'don't you think your ugly, blackmouthed dog will get her fill of fighting where there are the seventeen best dogs of the Fiann?'

The black dog however made short work of the others, till even the great Bran was frightened, and crept in the shape of a little 'messan' under Fionn's legs. Fionn, on seeing this, began to encourage him, reminding him of his victories over the venomous boar of Mount Gulban and the wild cat of the cave of Cruachan. Bran shook himself and broke his leash, a second shake restored him to his own form, and then he leapt on the Black Dog. Even Bran however proved unequal to the stranger, and was suffering severely, so Dermid separated the two for a moment while

Conan removed the silver shoe that guarded Bran's right paw, one blow of which tore out the entrails of the black dog and left him lifeless. The next minute Conan had drawn his sword and struck the head off the youth himself.

(3.) Conan again sat down by the door, and before long the expectant looks of the Tuatha De Danann showed that something else was on foot. Looking out he saw a third youth who carried a tub of water on his shoulder. He entered and set it down in the middle of the floor.

'The best man among you,' said he, 'let him come to me till I wash his feet and his hands.'

'That bald man east there beside the door is the best among us,' said Fionn.

The youth set the vessel before Conan, who rose (!) and lifted both his feet at once to put them into the tub.

'Canny there, Conan,' said Fionn, 'the limb that it would be the least misfortune for you to lose, put that in.'

'That's my little toe,' said Conan.

Conan put his little toe into the tub and it was immediately made dust and powder.

'Every mischief on me,' said he, 'if I have burned my little toe more than your flesh and hide shall be burned in it,' and he seized the youth and thrust him into the tub so that dust and powder was made of him completely.

Conan then lifted the tub and gave all the Tuatha De a share of its contents, and again sat down by the door.

(4.) The approach of a fourth youth was once more heralded by brighter looks among the Tuatha De. This one carried a shaggy grey boar on his shoulder which he cast down on the floor, and told Fionn that it had been sent him by Eochaidh for their supper 'and cook it for yourself.' Nine times nine of the Tuatha De Danann tried to lift it and take it to the fire, but could not move it.

'Every mischief on me,' said Conan, 'but that is how I should like to see you, with no strength or energy.' He rose and laid hold of the boar, but could not move it an inch.

'Every mischief on me,' said he; 'since I cannot take the boar to the fire, I shall bring the fire to the boar.'

He heaped the fire over the boar and sat down with his back to it, but as soon as the boar, which was an enchanted one, felt the

fire singeing his bristles he shook himself and scattered all the fire over Conan; then he went right over him and out at the door. Conan made search for the youth who had brought it and would have killed him, had he not promised as ransom to bring him the boar cooked on four silver spits, which he presently did. Conan proceeded to apportion the quarters to his company, one to Fionn, one to the other fifteen Fianna, one to Bran, and the last to himself in consideration of all that he had suffered that evening, 'and as for you, O Tuatha De Danann, get food for yourselves, or want.' Aodh mac Aodha resented this, and tried to take Conan's quarter from him, but Conan recovered it, and one of Aodh's youths was killed in the tumult.

(5.) Conan sat down again by the door, and shortly after saw an innumerable band of the Tuatha De Danann looking in through the windows of the *bruighean*. He took out Bran, and the two made short work of them, being afterwards aided by Dermid, who went out on pretence of restraining Bran. Eochaidh then persuaded Fionn to sound the *Dord Fhiann*,\* on hearing which they were bound to come to him. Conan was thus brought back to his post as doorkeeper.

(6.) Another youth carrying a staff that would have been a full burden for six men next came up, and wanted some one to fight with. Fionn directed him to Conan, who accepted the challenge, and again proved victorious. Then Eochaidh spoke up:—

'Finn mac Cumhail,' he said, 'what we have suffered already is quite enough for us, and we will stand no more from you.'

Then the Tuatha De Danann arose on the one side, and the seventeen Fianna on the other, and the battle began. For a long time nothing was heard but the crash of shields, the heavy breathing of the combatants and the screams of ravens above the *bruighean*. At the request of Aodh a truce was made for the night, but at day-break they began again. The whole Fiann now

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\* The *Dord Fhiann*, so often mentioned in the tales and ballads, is commonly taken as having been some musical instrument, but there seems to be nothing against its having been a vocal melody; compare the use of it in the *Bruighean Chaorthainn*.

came up, and the battle became general: 'like streams of brine dripping from the tops of the rocks after heavy waves were the heads of heroes and warriors falling to the ground in that conflict.' In the end the Tuatha De Danann were totally routed, scarcely a man escaped, and thus Eochaidh Beag Dearg and the Fiann parted from each other.

It will be seen from the above how the whole plot of the story turns on Conan, whose perversity lands him into trouble from which his strength has to free him. Apart from the slight monotony of the successive youths who come to the palace the plot is well conceived, and the style is clear and lively, especially in the dialogue. The versions taken down in the Scottish Highlands have naturally lost most of this, as will be readily believed by any one who tries to re-tell a well-written short story without the book. There is however some interest in comparing them with the original. That in Staffa's collection contains in an imperfect form the incident of the two invitations, but puts Fionn in the wrong company. Eochaidh Beag Dearg becomes Odhacha Beaganach, and receives the surname of Riogh Finnla, which is taken from the name of Aodh Finnliath, father of Aodh, Conn, and Cabhlach. Conan is made to bolt the door before the arrival of the three companies of the Tuatha De Danann; his wrestling with Cabhlach is told with some variations and additions; in the story of the boar the incident of the fire is omitted, Conan cooks it himself, and divides it into three parts, two of which he gives to the Fiann, and keeps the third for himself and the dogs. With the shoulder-blade he kills one of O'Finnla's (!) men who reflects on his hospitality. The incident of the Black Dog is best remembered, and is supplemented by the ballad, with the additional information that Bran had a venomous claw on his foot which the shoe was used to guard. Conan takes the dead dog by the tail and kills those outside with it, after which the great engagement takes place immediately. An interesting addition is the revenge taken by O'Finnla, who puts the women and children of the Fiann into the form of deer, so that Fionn hounds Bran at them, and most of them are killed.

The version taken down for Campbell opens with Fionn's



dream, as related by Dermid in our text, and then the narrative becomes very confused, with apparently some reminiscence of the the *Bruighean Chaorthainn* in it. At last the Fiann reaches a house which is kept by a woman, and answers to the Bruighean of Eochaidh. The different bands of Tuatha De Danann come up, and are followed by the lad with the boar, which has died from leanness. The Fiann reject it, and the lad promises to find another, which he brings to them. Fionn kills seven men from every row of the Tuatha De Danann with a bone. The incident of the black dog is told, and Bran's venomous claw. Bran begins to kill those outside, and the Fiann go out to help him until Fionn only is left inside. His enemies attack him, and he sounds the Ord Fianna, or rather it sounds of itself; his men return and save him as he is in the last extremity.

III. The 'Rowan-tree Palace' is even more ingenious as a literary product than that of Eochaidh, and has a more historic significance in the character of the enemies of the Fiann. In the preceding tales these were the mythical Tuatha De Danann; in this they are the historic Norsemen, though a very slight connection with the Tuatha De is implied. The story is as follows:—

Colgan, King of Lochlann, held a great fair on the green or Beirbhe (= Björgvin, Bergen) at which the four tribes of Lochlann were present. At this fair the king told of his discontent at bearing the title, 'King of the Islands,' while he had not sovereignty over Ireland, which his ancestors had taken such trouble to conquer. He recounted to them how Breas mac Balair fought the Tuatha De Danann on Magh Mor an Aonaigh (Great Plain of the Fair, near Ballisadare) and lost the five red battalions of the Fomhóraigh,\* (*Fovori*) by the hand of Lugh Lamhfhada † (*Lav-ada*), and how a year later Balar fell in the second battle of Moytura.‡ 'This then,' said he, 'is what I desire—to go into Erin to take my ancestors' tribute from it.' The

\* See *ante* on the identification of the *Fomhóraigh* with the *Lochlannaigh*.

† For this see the 'Fate of the Children of Tuireann,' cc. 9-21.

‡ In barony of Tirerril, co. Sligo. See the text of the 'Second Battle of Moytura, in the *Revue Celtique*,' Vol. XII., pp. 52-130.

nobles of Lochlann all said they were willing to go with him, and the sooner the better, so the King sent a war summons throughout the land, and five companies of the Norsemen gathered in Beirbhe. They launched their ships and went on board in high spirits; then steered over the ocean with the wind whistling in the sails and the waves splashing against the ships, and no hurt nor harm befel them till they reached the north of Ulster.\*

News of the invasion was soon conveyed to Cormac mac Art, monarch of Ireland, in his royal residence at Tara, and he in turn sent to the hill of Allen† for Fionn mac Cumhail. Fionn speedily gathered his Fiann and gave battle to the invaders, where the powers of Goll mac Morna laid low the Norse King and put his army to flight. Two of the king's sons were also slain; the third, named Miodhach (Míoch) was spared by Fionn. In professed gratitude, though set at liberty and declared king of the Lochlannaigh, Miodhach declared that he would never leave Fionn. 'I shall have the tribute of Lochlann brought to me in Ireland,' said he, 'and spend it with you, and live with you for ever.'

After some time had passed, Conan interfered and pointed out to Fionn the danger of having Miodhach beside him after having killed his father and brothers.‡ Ossian backed him up, and advised Fionn to give him land for himself. Miodhach, getting his choice, selected a cantred in Kerry on the south side of the Shannon and another on the opposite bank. This he did for two reasons; first, to be as far beyond the Fiann's notice as possible, and, second, that he might conveniently bring in a fleet of his countrymen when the time was ripe for action.§ Fourteen years he spent in making preparations for this.

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\* This might almost be a genuine picture of a Norse King's invasion of Ireland; the consultation with the leading men was a necessary step for such a proceeding, and is often expressly mentioned in the Sagas. The closest parallel to our text would be the expeditions of Magnus.

† Almhain, Fionn's stronghold, is in Co. Kildare. A confusion of *Almhain* with *Alban* in the mouths of reciters gave colour to Macpherson's claim for his Fingal as a Scottish monarch.

‡ Conan was of Brynhild's opinion; 'Never trust in the faith of a wolf-cub, whose father or brother you have slain. A wolf lies in a young son.' *Sigrdrifumál*, 35.

§ The Irish had learned this Norse practice by bitter experience.

One day Fionn and the Fiann came to hunt in the west of Limerick, and Fionn as usual sat on a 'hunting knoll' with a number of the Fiann around him. Before long they saw coming towards them a youth in full armour,—silken coat, Norse byrny, jewelled helmet, a painted shield on his left shoulder, and two long spears in his right hand.\* He came up and saluted Fionn, who asked his news.

'I am a poet,' said he; 'I have come with a poem to you.'

'Strange dress that for a poet,' said Fionn, 'sure weeds of war and garb of battle like that!'

'I am a poet,' said he, 'and I have come with a poem to you.'

'This is no place to reward a poem,' said Fionn; 'come with me to any of the palaces of Erin and you will get your reward from me there.'

'The only reward I ask for my poem,' said the youth, 'is that you understand its meaning; † and I put you under obligations to understand it.'

'Repeat the poem then,' said Fionn.

The youth's poem consisted of four riddles‡ which Fionn interpreted correctly, but the last one made him aware that the

\* This is a portrait of a Norse Viking, all except the *two* spears, which was rather the Irish custom, though instances are mentioned in the Sagas of throwing two spears at once, one with each hand.

† Not always easy with Irish poems, which were often composed with a more than Browningsque obscurity.

‡ The text as printed by Campbell (L. na F., p. 87, col. 2) is at this point absolutely unintelligible, as the transcriber has not noticed the proper arrangement of the lines. The actual reading of the MS. is as follows:—

'Adchonnuire teach isin tir, as nach tabhuir geill do rí;

ní loisce teine, ní airge creach, maith sean leur gabhadh an righ-theach.'

'Tuigim sin,' ar Fionn, 'is é sin Brogh na Boinne .i. teach Aonghus Oig mhic an Dagha, oir ní fheudar a losgadh na creachadh.'

'Is hé sin tuigsin an roinn sin,' ar an fear-dana.

'Adchonnuire fer sa leith thuaithe, noch beiras a lan do buaidh;

ní fearr leis amh no bruith, no co mhin a gharbh cluith.'

'Tuicim sin,' ar Fionn, 'is é sin cloidhemh Aongusa Oig adchonnaire, agus ní fearr leis amh no bruite a' gerradh cnamh agus chorp do laimh eachtaigh Aonghusa.'

'Adchonnarc bean sa leith thes, agus clann treuna cneas

ciodh mall a ceum tar gach tuaith, is luaithé i no aech luath.'

'Tuigim an ben sin adchonnarcus .i. an Boinn dod leith thes agus asiad a clann do chonnarcus trena cneas .i. brie mall-chorra agus a bradáin eochair-breagha, nair ciodh mall an sruth sin is luaithé hé na eoch luath, óir siubhluidhe se an domhan re bliadhúin agus ní dhiongann each da luas an siubhal sin, etc.'

stranger was a friend to Aonghas of the Boyne, one of the Tuatha De Danann, and he demanded to know his name. Conan however had already solved the mystery.

'He is of your own people,' said Conan, 'and no friend to you, and it would be more fitting for a man to recognize his enemy than his friend, for the former may do him injury. This is Miodhach mac Colgan, whose father and two brothers fell through you, and you gave him his full freedom. For fourteen years he has been in your service, and has never served you with food or drink all that time.'

'That is not my blame at all,' said Miodhach, 'I have had a feast ready for him every month up till now, and he never came to partake of it; no more did I ever invite him. I have a feast ready for him this night; let him come to consume it. I have one palace on sea and another on land: the feast is in the one on the sea, but it is to be consumed in the one on land, and I put Fionn under obligations to come and consume it this night.'

Miodhach then departed and Fionn prepared to follow him, but left Ossian with some of the Fiann behind, charging him not to let them to the palace and promising to send word of what took place. Among those left with Ossian were Dermid and Caoilte, while Goll and Conan went with Fionn. On reaching the Bruighean the first to enter was Conan, who found no one there, but was delighted with the splendour of the place—the floor laid with carpets of many hues, and the boards all of different colours. At Conan's glowing report all the rest entered and sat down on the silken coverings, 'and they would not even have their own clothing between them and the trappings of the bruighean' (a wish easily gratified with the old Irish dress), while a sweet odour diffused through the palace seemed to lighten their spirits with its fragrance.

'I marvel,' said Fionn shortly, 'that we are so long in getting anything to eat here.'

'There is something that I marvel at more than that,' said Goll, 'which is, that the place that had such a sweet odour when we came into it now smells fouler than all the closets of the world.'

'There is something I marvel at more than that,' said Glas mac Aoin, 'and that is, that the palace which had every colour on it has now not a single board in it, but is firmly constructed of hard rods of rowan tree,\* beaten together with the backs of axes and mallets.'

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\* This use of the rowan is curious, considering how valuable it was as a defence against witchcraft in later times, as taught in the rhyme,

'R'an-tree an' reid threid  
Gars the witches tyne their speed.'

'There is something I marvel at still more,' said Faolan, 'the palace which had seven doors \* when we entered it has now only one.'

'And I marvel still more,' said Conan, 'that of all the coverings and carpets that were under us when we sat down there is not one thread under us now, and methinks it is the clay of the earth that we are on, and it is colder than the cold snow of one night.'

Fionn began to suspect mischief, and being subject to a *tabu* against staying in a *bruighean* with only one door, told Conan to cut another one in the wall. On attempting to rise Conan found himself stuck fast to the ground, and so were all the others. At the request of Goll Fionn put his thumb under his 'tooth of vision,' though with reluctance, 'for,' said he, 'I must chew skin, flesh, bone and marrow of my finger before I get certain knowledge of our danger.' By this means he discovered the treachery of Miodhach, who had got the assistance of Sinsear of the Battles, King of the World, from Greece, along with thousands of warriors, besides the three Kings of the Island of Thule, who were devilish druids and terrible heroes. 'It is these who have put under us this earth to which we are stuck fast, and they themselves are in the Island Bruighean, and will shortly come to put us to death, nor is there any escape for us from here until the blood of these three Kings is poured on that earth.'

The Fiann lamented loudly at this, but Fionn rebuked them and told them to be bold in the face of death. 'No longer life was in store for us than what we have had. Let us sing the *Dord Fiann* before we die.' This they accordingly began to do.

(a). Meanwhile Ossian had grown impatient for the promised messenger from Fionn, and two of the party, Fiacha and Innse, volunteered to go in search of news. As they neared the Bruighean they heard the *Dord Fhiann*, and knew that their companions were in trouble. Fionn, hearing them outside, called to them and told them how matters lay, and on their refusing to desert him in his danger, asked them to defend the ford until some of the rest of the Fiann might chance to arrive. Fiacha however left Innse alone to guard the ford, while he went on to the Island Bruighean to see whether the foreigners were there. The rest of the story then turns on the successive feats at the

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\* Seven doors and seven hearths were the proper number in a *bruighean*.

ford, a species of fighting very common in the Irish tales; the best specimen is perhaps that of Cuchulainn and the Fer Diad in the *Tain Bo Cuailnge*.

(1). A Greek Earl set out for the Rowan-tree Bruighean with 100 knights to bring back Fionn's head to the King of the World, but on reaching the ford found his passage barred by Innse, who refused to give way, and after killing the hundred knights was himself slain by the Earl. 'I will not go on to the Bruighean now,' said the earl, 'until I get more men with me, and I shall take this head with me to the King of the World.' On his way back he met with Fiacha returning from his scouting expedition and their talk went as follows:—

'Where have you been?' asked Fiacha.

'At the ford ahead of you,' said the Earl.

'What were you doing there?' said Fiacha.

'I went after the head of Fionn mac Cumhail for the King of the World,' said he, 'but a gallant youth met me in the breast of the ford, and the hundred knights that went with me fell by his hand.'

'What kept you from falling yourself?' said Fiacha.

'The hardness of my heart and the strength of my hand,' said the Earl, 'and that youth fell before me.'

'If you had done that,' said Fiacha, 'you would have brought tokens of the victory with you.'

'I have brought his head with me,' said the Earl.

'Give it me,' said Fiacha.

Fiacha seized the head and recognized it and gave it three kisses\* and pressed it to his breast.

'Well did this head become the body on which it was this morning,' said he; 'do you know to whom you have given it?'

'No,' answered the Earl, 'unless you are one of the King of the World's men.'

'I am not one of his men,' said Fiacha, 'nor shall you be so any longer.'

After a sharp combat the Earl fell by the hand of Fiacha, who then crossed the ford and went up to the Bruighean, where he spoke from the door.

'Is that the voice of Fiacha?' said Fionn.

'Of a truth it is,' answered he.

'Who was it that made that loud-sounding conflict that I heard at the ford just now?' asked Fionn.

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\* The 'three kisses' is the regular number in the tales, see *Cath Ruis na Rig*, § 8. p. 13.



'It was your dear foster-son,' said Fiacha.

'And how is my fosterling after the battle?' said he.

'He is headless,' said Fiacha, 'and my heart is broken for that.'

'Did you see him being slain?' asked Fionn.

'I did not,' said Fiacha, 'and if I had I would have saved him from death, but I have brought you the head of the man that killed him.'

'Victory and blessing go with you,' said Fionn; 'I am sad and sorry for him. They are good children I have, for small was my share of Erin until they rose around me, and large was my share of it just now, before I fell into this prison; and, Fiacha,' said he, 'go and guard the ford till some company of the Fiann come across you.'

(2). The brother of the Greek Earl then came upon Fiacha with 400 knights, but he 'went under them and through them and over them' till they all fell; then he sat down by the ford wounded and weary. The news of these losses reached Miodhach in the Island Bruighean.

'They have done ill,' he said, 'in going without my knowledge, for if we all went together against so small a company not one of the Fiann would escape alive. I shall go now to the Rowan-tree Bruighean, and take with me food and drink for a hundred men, for there is the man who most loves his allowance in all Erin, to wit, Conan mac Morna, and when he sees me devouring that food before his eyes he will lose his sense and memory out of longing for it; and I shall put to death all that are in the Bruighean on the morrow.'

On his way Miodhach was stopped at the ford by Fiacha, and after a hundred of his knights had fallen in trying to effect a passage, he came forward in person to engage the Fenian hero.

(b). Meanwhile Ossian wondered why the two scouts were so long in returning and guessed that something was wrong. Dermid and Fatha canann\* volunteered to go in search of them. As they neared the Bruighean, 'Dermid,' said Fatha canann, 'do you hear what I hear,—the crash of shields splitting, the sound of helmets cleaving, and the groans of men fighting?' They hurried down to the ford and found Fiacha almost exhausted. Dermid threw his spear across the water and wounded Miodhach, who, however, cut off Fiacha's head. Dermid crossed and killed him in turn, while Fatha canann slew such of his followers as were left. With the head of Miodhach they made

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\* *al.* Fathcanan or Fathchanan.

their way to the Rowan-tree Bruighean, and Dermid announced the death of Fiacha (who was a son of Fionn) in the same way as Fiacha had reported the fall of Innse. Fionn entreated Dermid to guard the ford till sunrise on the morrow.

Dermid was on the point of departing when Conan spoke :

‘Are you thinking of going?’ said he.

‘Certainly,’ said Dermid.

‘Bad is my share of that,’ said Conan, ‘for the earth to which we are stuck is colder than icy snow, and worse than that is my hunger and thirst. The best of every food and drink that has been preparing for fourteen years is being consumed in the Island Bruighean just now : bring me food and drink from that.’

‘It’s a shame for you to be asking that,’ said Dermid, ‘when the host of the World is seeking to kill you, and no one but myself and Fathacanann to defend you.’

‘If it were a woman that asked you, you would try to get it for her,’ said Conan ; ‘you have taken four wives from me since you have been in the Fiann, and would have taken more if I had had them.’

‘Shame me no more, Conan,’ said Dermid, ‘and I will go to get a drink for you however it befall me.’

After this Dermid and Fatha canann went down to the ford.

‘Dermid,’ said Fatha canann, ‘there never was a night when it was easier for you to get food and drink for Conan, for there is the allowance of food and drink for a hundred men lying on the bank of the ford. Give Conan his fill of that.’

‘Conan would say that it was dead men’s food we gave him,’ said Dermid, ‘and he would satirize me.\* Watch you the ford, and I will go to get food for Conan.’

Dermid entered the Island Bruighean and found the cup-bearer of the King of the World about to serve his master with old mead in a jewelled horn. He promptly cut off his head and took the horn out of his hand. Then he went to the table, kicked the King of the World in the breast, seized the dish that lay before him and went back to the ford. There he found Fatha canann asleep, which he called treason against the king-warrior of Erin, Alban, England, Lewis, and Lochlann, but without wakening him went on to the Bruighean and called on Conan.

‘I have food for you here,’ he said, ‘but I don’t know how it is to reach you.’

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\* This was a serious matter in ancient Ireland, as satire could produce even physical deformities.

'I know,' said Conan; 'I am straight opposite the door: throw it to me.'

Dermid threw the food and spattered it over his mouth and breast.

'I am afraid I have dirtied you,' he said; 'I have a horn of mead here too, but I don't know how it can get to you.'

'I know,' said Conan, 'spring up on the roof; the soil of the Island of Thule is not on the outside of it: make a hole above my head and pour from the horn down into my mouth.'

After accomplishing this difficult feat, not greatly to Conan's satisfaction, Dermid returned to the ford and waked Fatha canann.

(3). The three kings of Thule now advanced to avenge Miodhach, and another battle took place at the ford, ending in the death of the three kings by the hand of Dermid, who then took their blood to the Bruighean and by this means freed the Fiann. Conan however was so firmly fixed that Dermid and Fatha canann had to pull him up, leaving the skin of his heels, thighs, shoulders, and head sticking to the earth. From this incident came his surname of *maol*, 'bare' or 'bald.'

(4). The Fianna were so weak that Dermid\* and Fatha canann had to return to guard the ford where they were presently assailed by Borb, son of the King of the World, along with 2000 warriors.

(c). Meanwhile Ossian again grew anxious, and with his party advanced towards the Bruighean in time to join in the battle. There Goll killed Borb, and the 2000 fell with him.

(5). The King of the World then advanced in person, and a great general engagement took place, in which Osgar finally cut off the King's head, and his host, all but a few, were left dead on the field. 'Many were the cries of vultures and ravens battening on the bodies of heroes and warriors; and covered with wounds and blood were the Fiann of Erin after fighting this battle. Thus did Fionn escape from the treachery that the King of Lochlann played upon him.'

There are some good points in the Bruighean Chaorthainn, and the story is on the whole well told. The long-meditated

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\* In the 'Pursuit of Dermid and Grainne' all the services he renders on this occasion are recounted by Dermid when he entreats Fionn to bring him a drink of water, after he has been wounded by the boar. *Trans. of the Oss. Soc.*, Vol. III., pp. 186-191.

revenge of Miodhach, the unsuspecting way in which the Fiann fall into the trap, and the unexpected nature of the treachery itself are good conceptions, while such pieces of dialogue as that between Fiacha and Miodhach, Fiacha and Fionn, or Dermid and Conan are extremely well written. The style is very much the same as in the preceding tale, plain and perspicuous, with nothing to perplex the reader except the ingenious contractions in which all scribes indulge.

The tale of 'Maghach Colgar,' taken down for Campbell, shows changes of the same nature as the oral versions of the 'Bruighean Eochaidh.' Maghach Colgar is sent to Fionn by the King of Lochlann to be taught; the King of Sealg (!) sends his son, named Innsridh Mac Righ nan Sealg, for the same purpose, the latter being the Innse mac Suibhne Sealga of our text. Maghach returns to Lochlann to succeed the King there, and when the chase fails in Ireland he invites the Fiann over to stay with him, the 'bruighean on sea and bruighean on land' being remembered. Some of the Fiann remain in Ireland, among them being Fiachaire, Innsridh, and Cath Conan (=Fatha canann). On entering the bruighean in Lochlann they stick to the chairs and the chairs stick to the earth, while the knives and forks stick to their hands. Fionn however manages to strike the *Ord Fiannta*, and it is heard in Erin; Fiachaire and Innsridh go over to Lochlann. Their fortunes are much as in the text but told in a very different fashion. Dermid and Cath Conan arrive and kill the men of Lochlann, and take the food from their bruighean to Fionn and his companions, letting it down through the roof. Fionn tells Dermid that they can only be released by the blood of the 'three daughters of King Gil' (this is got from the *tri righthe Innse Tile*). Dermid takes these out of a castle and wrings the blood out of them to release the Fiann, but none is left for Conan, and they have to pull him loose. The three girls are found miraculously alive again, and are replaced in their castle, while the Fiann go home to Ireland. There are one or two good touches in the story as told, but it is evidently only an imperfect version of the written tale, with a few misunderstandings and a few new inventions to explain them.

Such are the 'Bruighean' tales, and they must be taken in

the spirit in which they were written,—works for amusement and not for instruction. The serio-comic strain in their composition, which occurs in other tales as well, forms a pleasant contrast to the tragic side of the Fenian legend, as it comes out in the ‘Pursuit of Dermid and Grainne,’ or the fall of Oscar and the Fiann in the Battle of Gabhra. They have a close parallel in the Icelandic *lygi-sögur* or ‘lying sagas,’ which were just as little meant to be taken seriously by any one. The authors knew as well as the modern sensational novelist that the whole story was the sheerest fiction, but they aimed at producing pleasurable excitement, and by their aim they ought to be judged. They point the lesson too that the real worth of Irish literature ought to be independent of its value for special studies, and that even for these it must be taken in its entirety. The gap which the specialist is apt to leave between the old and the new contains much that accounts for the later phenomena, and for this reason as well as for their own merits, which are by no means insignificant, the tales of the period to which those here treated of belong are well worth perusal and publication.

W. A. CRAIGIE.

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#### ART. IV.—THE LOGIC OF HISTORY.

*History of the Philosophy of History; Historical Philosophy in France and French Belgium and Switzerland.* By ROBERT FLINT, Professor in the University of Edinburgh, etc. William Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London. 1893.

VAST as are its ramifications, and puzzling as many of its intricacies are destined yet awhile to remain, the organism of human experience can, nevertheless, be analysed into comparatively simple elements. The fundamental constituents, as many incline to think, may be no more than aspects of one pervading principle. They contrive, at the same time, to present themselves under phases which compel the recognition

of clearly marked differences. The outer world of things must perforce be distinguished from the inner sphere of thoughts, no matter what view of the relationship between the two ultimately prevails. Both, once more, stand separated from ideals, even although the last come to be recognised mainly when expressed in terms of thought, or actually presented in works and deeds. Seeing that they combine to produce a single experience, all three possess some traits in common. But things and thoughts, matter and ideas, are, in one respect, widely diverse from ideals. The former appear to have a finality which the latter lack. No doubt, the everlasting hills, and the common notions that circle through generations seem to remain, and their absolute permanence is largely, if not wholly, an illusion. Be this as it may, no such illusions necessarily attach to ideals. With them, as with nothing else, the feet of those who have buried the earliest are at the door, and will carry the latest out. Chiefly for this reason history is at once a puzzle and a fascination. Compacted of ideals, it tends to bewilder, and when the ideals of one age are employed to interpret those of the past, it often happens that the usual hesitancy is in no wise abated. Professor Flint's remarkable volume inculcates many a lesson of this kind. Thinker after thinker, forgetting the maxim of Marcus Aurelius, injures himself by remaining in his own peculiar species of ignorance and error. From one point of view, this is inevitable; and accordingly two principal causes combine to intensify the difficulty of the subject under consideration. The material is itself of a complex and changing nature, and for the most part it appears to have been approached from a provisional standpoint. The understanding of history in terms of certain fundamental postulates, which are indispensable to the comprehension of the smallest part of experience, is conspicuous by its absence nearly till the advent of the present century. Yet, an attempted synthesis of this sort finds, in turn, new obstacles as accompaniment. The present forms at once its possibility and its end. History culminates now for every thinker, and the combination of influences which condition the thought of the epoch determines the direction, if not the kind, of the doctrines



formulated. 'The historical theories of individual thinkers will always be found largely explicable by the contemporary political condition of the communities to which these thinkers belong.'\*

This persistent relativity, while partly due to the need that each successive age feels for a philosophy of its own, is traceable in larger measure to a certain confusion. History itself has too often been confounded with philosophy, and a narrative, more than usually reflective of course, seems to have frequently done duty for a reasoned account of past events. History proper, as one must admit, may be written philosophically, but this work, attractive as it is, does not constitute a philosophy of history. Yet many have habituated themselves to regarding it as if it were such, and many others, no doubt unconsciously, have proceeded as if philosophy demanded nothing further. Voltaire may be taken as a representative of the former, Saint-Simon of the latter. Even during the present century writers are not wanting who confuse themselves mainly by taking a mistaken direction. The rise of the historical method, and the numerous achievements resulting from its adoption, have led not a few to suppose that a philosophy of history might be found in the systematic reading of events backwards, so to speak. To follow up historical phenomena to their first beginnings, to sketch their varying vicissitudes, or to investigate some of their prominent relationships to other occurrences, was for a writer like Quinet—taking perhaps the most conspicuous example—to view history philosophically. Few would deny that a discipline of high value lies here. For, study of this kind implies, always, an analysis of constituent elements, and, sometimes, a synthesis of them as they have stood connected with one another at different typical periods. Indeed, the worth of such research is inevitably so considerable that it all too easily supplants philosophy of history in the true sense of the term, and this not without subtle reason.

The peculiarity of history among the other sciences, psycho-

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\* *Flint*, p. 53.

logy most conspicuous by exception, is that in it mere delineation cannot but be overpassed. The human mind, as it dwells upon man's experience through the centuries, meets with phenomena, individual, national, racial, that are not foreign to itself in the same sense as the crust of the earth, or chemical combinations, or even living bodies in a manner are. And this familiarity, which results in the more or less ready recognition of order and progress, very naturally tends to obscure, or minimise, the problems that specially connect themselves with philosophy. Here, conspicuously, the fascination and the difficulty of philosophy of history may be said to centre; and here, too, the persistence of effort and the record of failure, to which Dr. Flint is an impartial witness, originate. The familiarity just noted largely accounts for the limitation of the categories employed by many thinkers to explain *all* history. Pagan or Oriental affinities dominate some; others fall under the spell of watchwords like progress, freedom, humanity; a third group feel most at home in the triumphs of science; while a fourth take deepest interest in the evolution of literature or religion. How naturally any one of these tendencies may predominate Dr. Flint himself shows in passing. 'Christianity by creating the Church enormously enlarged and enriched history. It thereby opened up a central and exhaustless vein in the mine of human nature,—set in movement a main stream in the flow of human affairs. The rise of ecclesiastical history was more to historiography than was the discovery of America to geography. It added immensely to the contents of history, and radically changed men's conceptions of its nature. It at once caused political history to be seen to be only a part of history, and carried even into the popular mind the conviction—of which hardly a trace is to be found in the classic historians—that all history *must* move to some general *human end*, some *divine goal*.'\* It may be taken as proved, accordingly, that similar reasons produce at once the fascination and the danger of philosophy of history. History, by its very nature, appeals with peculiar force to everyone who can say, *Humani nihil*

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\* *Flint*, p. 62. The italics are mine.

*alienum*. Yet the very strength of this appeal tends to divert attention from the inquiry which can alone be regarded as philosophical.

What, then, is philosophy of history, to which, as Dr. Flint well records, so little success and so much difficulty have clung? Although a reply to this question must depend partly upon the philosophical conclusions from which the thinker sets out, it is probably simpler, for the present purpose, to make answer by way of history itself. Moreover, by accepting Prof. Flint's own definition of history, one can see with comparative ease why a philosophy of history is necessary. The kind of philosophy may, meantime, be left out of consideration. 'History is all that man has suffered, thought, and executed—the entire life of humanity—the whole movement of societies. It is history thus understood which is the subject of the art, and the science, and the philosophy of history,—of the art which recalls and delineates it, of the science which analyses it and traces its laws, and of the philosophy which exhibits it in its relations to the general system of the universe. To attempt further to define it would be worse than useless. It would be unduly to limit, and to distort and pervert, its meaning.\* The philosophical clue here presented is not hard to discover. The phrase, 'the whole movement of societies,' furnishes it. For the moment 'society' is mentioned, we light upon problems to which no explanation can be given except by philosophy. History exists because man is a social being. From the nature of the case he enters into combination with his fellows; and this association is not a mere external connection, but implies a spiritual relation without which man would not be constituted as he shows himself to be, and humanity would remain a bare form without material content. Instances of this association might possibly be selected to which the term 'accidental' could fittingly be applied. But association itself, so far from being accidental, is the prime condition under which men invariably act when they rise, as individuals or as groups, to possession of historical significance. Nay, the more they

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\* *Flint*, p. 8.

are enmeshed in the network of human relationships, the larger they bulk. In this sense one may admit the truth of Turgot's statement: 'Genius is scattered among the human race much like gold in a mine. The more mineral you take up the more metal you may collect. The more men there are, the more great men, or men capable of becoming great, there will be.'\* As numbers increase the intricacy, extend the variety, and deepen the intensity of human relationships, the greater the likelihood of lives in which these new aspects of social growth will be summed up. Unity between men is, then, of the essence of history.

But, what is the nature of this unity; what, too, does it portend? At a stroke these questions bring us into the sphere of philosophy proper. The association between men, which is the nerve of history, illustrates certain principles. The unity is not dead, but works out its own life along definite lines. Further, even although we may be unable to trace their absolute beginnings, principles are always prophetic or, at least, induce us to look towards an end. The problems, then, (1) of the kind of this unity among men—of which history is but the record—and (2) of the perfect expression of unity, which past states and the present condition of association imply, are those whereout philosophy of history arises, and for which it endeavours to find a solution. Thus, as Dr Flint pointedly says, philosophy 'of history is not a something separate from the facts of history, but a something contained in them.'†

These two problems, which together constitute the 'something' in history, cannot be disjoined. They necessarily involve one another. For it is impossible even to formulate the second without appreciating the first; and, this, in its turn, cannot but give rise to the second. Indeed, so intimate is their connection, that, as we shall see, there remains grave reason to suppose that our knowledge of the presuppositions of history still lacks much to the satisfactory statement of the question of ultimate goal. Although the analogy be not exact in every detail, the two enquiries are related somewhat as

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\* *Flint*, p. 285.

† *Ibid.*, p. 40.

physiology and biology. They fall within the same sphere, that is, and their results are mutually suggestive, mutually helpful. At the same time, a single reservation must be definitely made. The *ultimate* problem for philosophy concerns rather the immanent end of history, as one may provisionally call it, than the nature of the processes towards this end. And were it possible to declare conscientiously that the entire framework of human association had been surveyed, it would also be possible to confine philosophy of history to discussion of final cause only. Remembering this limitation, which is indispensable seeing that the kind of the assumed unity is by no means adequately understood, both discussions equally fall within the range of philosophy of history. How is history possible? Having regard to the principles that sway it, to what does history tend?

The former question is one of metaphysical interest. A sharp and fundamental distinction marks it off from historical research as such. There is no attempt to construct a record of events, nor to prepare a scheme into which the complex occurrences of the past may be fitted. The problem, on the contrary, is one of presuppositions. Beyond isolated, or even grouped, phenomena lie laws, principles, or organising forces, which have a sphere of their own. Apart from the historical data these controlling powers are unknowable, that is, they are as good as non-existent. But their presence, on the other hand, *ipso facto* stamps the data as of *historical* import. Just as space and time are preconditions of individual experience, so persons, and those associated personalities known variously as families, clans, tribes, and nations, are presuppositions of history. Just as it is the great achievement of modern general metaphysics 'to have established the doctrine of the perfect coextensiveness and mutuality of existence and consciousness,' so it is the main work of philosophy of history to prove that the relations of men to men, in so far as they are capable of alteration by interaction, express underlying principles incident to the very existence of personality. These are what might be called introductory considerations in philosophy of history proper. But, seeing that the remainder of the inquiry

necessarily depends upon them, it may be well to pause for a moment in order to take stock of the position.

In his Introduction, Prof. Flint trenches upon this metaphysical inquiry incidentally. He there points out that three leading historical ideas may be traced—Progress, Humanity, Freedom. These, at all events, furnish certain aspects of ‘the relations of causation and affinity which connect history with the other departments of existence and knowledge.’\* The conception of progress is an evolutionary one. In other words, it involves the presence of all the elements which a developing process implies. A series of changing states is under review; a means of comparing these states is indispensable; and, accordingly, a principle of connection is presupposed. This, however, is tantamount to saying that a comparatively complex notion of human inter-relationship has been grasped. And, as our author shows, a competent perception of what progress amounts to cannot be traced even in such historically specialised communities as those of Israel, of Greece, and of Rome. So, once more, the idea of humanity grew slowly. Not until the ancient classical world had exhausted itself, may man ‘be regarded as having at length risen to the apprehension of human unity.’† The value of manhood as such now began to receive a tardy recognition. But it was no more than a beginning. All through the middle ages, class distinctions tended to obscure personal worth. Men derived dignity and had a claim upon respect, not from their humanity, but from an accidental connection with some few of their brethren. In the same way, too, the idea of freedom, the third of the presuppositions of history, failed for centuries to strike the imagination. Conscience, as Roger Williams remarked, had belonged too long to the State, not to the individual. Even as late as ‘the sixteenth century, theory and practice as to liberty were in all respects and relations most imperfect. The idea of its nature was as vague as the actual realisation of its nature was meagre. So far as the philosophy of history, therefore, depends on insight into the nature of liberty, a condition of its existence was still at that

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\* *Flint* p. 21.

† *Ibid.*, p. 114.



date wanting.\* If, then, Progress, Humanity, and Freedom, be presuppositions of history, which only philosophy of history can fully explain, and if, as Dr Flint has proved, they were far from being appreciated till within the last two centuries, the time limits within which the metaphysic of history could be fruitfully investigated are somewhat narrow. It will, accordingly, be advisable to notice in the sequel how far this research has actually been pursued with appearance of success.

Now, the ideas of Progress, Humanity, and Freedom are integral portions of the metaphysical presuppositions of history mainly because they are pervasive forms under which men's association with men appears. And, even granted, for the moment, that they together furnish an exhaustive array of the kinds of this association, their analysis and explanation would not be, as we have already tried to see, the entire business of the philosophy of history. Beyond lies another question, conditioned no doubt, and even rendered possible, by the results of this investigation. The nerve of philosophy of history is what may be strictly termed the logic of history. The ultimate problem is, not merely metaphysical, but teleological, in the higher sense. To what do Progress, Humanity, Freedom tend? Why should there be such principles? Apart from a teleological view, no reply can be framed. But, even so, a logic of history, like much else, requires data. The ideal towards which history travels cannot be guessed. An account of it must be based upon a metaphysical analysis of the principles of history; that is, of the presuppositions which are discovered to be involved in the facts as recorded. Only when this work has been thoroughly accomplished can the synthetic process of logic be initiated. The rise, progress, decline, and demise of particular ideals warn us against entering too confidently upon the path of final interpretation. So, very naturally, we find ourselves asking, is it possible in the present state of knowledge to do more than attempt a metaphysic of history? Is a logic of it yet attainable? The answer seems, at first sight, to be decidedly in the negative. The history of philo-

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\* *Flint*, p. 136.

sophy of history has been such as to show that at present we do not sufficiently understand the presuppositions to be able to perceive, with any decisive clearness, the immanent end to which they make.

A pessimistic conclusion of this kind demands qualification, or at least some less general statement. It is not intended to assert that philosophy of history has been a total stranger to progress and success. It is no part of the thesis to prove that satisfactory results cannot be achieved. The record of its course in the growth of French thought, for example, is witness to substantial advance. With Bodin, mere chronicling gave place to a species of philosophy. Bossuet, in turn, formulated a definite scheme; while Montesquieu and Turgot elaborated conceptions of a single law which, under changing aspects, is held to pervade the entire course of human destiny. From a critical point of view, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Condorcet add something to previous ideas. But too much destructive scepticism characterised their labours, and the constructive answer of Chateaubriand, De Maistre, and Lammenais rested somewhat exclusively upon operative doctrines drawn from a narrow basis of induction. The intellectual assault was, in short, as so often happens, met by a simple reaction. Comte at length attained a higher platform by attempting, probably in unconsciousness of his office, a new synthesis involving alike the sceptical and ultramontane dogmas. The sweep of his system was such as to include formally the principal problems incident to philosophy of history. Materially, however, he did not specifically address himself to them. His fundamental defect lay in an ineradicable inability to comprehend the relation of metaphysics to the other sciences. He could not understand, what Schopenhauer a little later expressed with his customary laconic force, that everything is as much metaphysical as physical. Consequently, in his effort to be rid of metaphysic, he became too metaphysical, bowing down to an entity of his own creation, instead of applying himself to elucidate the principles immanent in the constitution of society. 'To emancipate physical and psychological science from a theological and metaphysical

condition is no less a service to theology and metaphysics than to physics and psychology. Every science must gain by being kept in its own place. It is wrong to mix up either theological beliefs or metaphysical principles among the laws of the positive sciences. But we by no means do so when we hold that both physics and psychology presuppose metaphysics, and yield conclusions of which theology may avail itself, and that we can still look on the whole earth as made beautiful by the artist hand of the Creator, on science as the unveiling of His wisdom, and on history as the manifestation of His providence.\* To this point, then, the pursuit of philosophy of history had been unsatisfactory enough. But, while it had been productive of few solid conclusions, it had, at all events, provided numerous studies in those general ideas which appear to be inseparable from any consideration of historical phenomena. Thinkers had shown indirectly that, ere a philosophy of history could be framed, a certain platform must of necessity be attained. But, they had, at the same time, failed to indicate what such a philosophy involved. The nineteenth century had passed through its first quarter ere the subject began to be approached in a spirit which gave promise of fair prospect of success.

Further, this comparative failure to perceive wherein philosophy of history consists, and, more especially, the tendency to misunderstand the relation of the inquiry to metaphysics, had been accompanied by considerable uncertainty, hesitation, and absence of continuity in the method pursued. In this respect, indeed, the very name, philosophy of history, proved a snare to some. The historical method naturally suggested itself, and purely empirical investigations and conclusions acquired an importance to which they are now seen to possess no title. Now, the historical method, if aided by no other organon, is apt to deceive. It appears to achieve results of a teleological kind, which cannot be attained by its processes. For, while order may be introduced into confusing events, while serviceable groupings may be constructed by

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\* *Flint*, p. 288.

showing that a new arrangement throws fresh light upon the facts, nevertheless, it is no part of the work of such rearrangement to explain all that the series implies, nor to justify its very being in any final sense. To follow the course of events, no matter with what accuracy and understanding, is not to comprehend their inmost nature.

Again, if the historical method has been applied in too empirical a manner, the deductive plan has been followed in far too confident a spirit. Condorcet's statement, made by him at a venture, has, for example, been taken as a text for a complete philosophy of history by other writers. 'The progress of society is subject to the same general laws observable in the individual development of our faculties, being the result of that very development considered at once in a great number of individuals.' Saint-Simon, as Prof. Flint acutely remarks, erected this hazardous and ephemeral opinion into a central law, and, with it as basis, built up a huge hypothesis of historical series which, according to the theory, correspond in essentials to the various stages in the development of a single human career. If the historical method had often been empirically employed, and had accordingly failed to illumine the presuppositions of history, this *a priori* plan has, almost as frequently, been thrust upon history to its distortion. 'The greatest error into which Saint-Simon fell in connection with it seems to me to have been his making it the expression of an hypothesis, instead of regarding it simply as a mode of arranging facts in such a way as might be hoped would eventually lead to the scientific proof the theory.'\*

It might, thirdly, be shown that Cousin's psychological method is not free from similar dangers. While valuable for the implicit recognition of the importance of objective psychology in preparing the way for an adequate philosophy of history, it abounds in the possibilities of misleading analogy. One pauses for a moment—to adduce an example—struck by the statement that 'what reflection is to the individual history is to the race.' Yet very brief reflection is sufficient to con-

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\* *Flint*, p. 405.

vince, not only that the doctrine is incapable of justification, but that, as a matter of sober judgment, hardly any definite meaning can be attached to it. And, to take only one other case, a similar criticism applies to the method of Guizot. It may be quite true that the *historian* must consider history from the successive standpoints of the anatomist, the physiologist, and the physiognomist. No doubt, from description of the integral facts, from understanding of their general organisation, and from quick recognition of their external appearance as a living unity, very much may be learned. Notwithstanding, all this may be done without trenching upon the sphere of philosophy of history proper. For, a transcript in any of these three kinds assumes the very materials which it is the purpose of philosophy of history to analyse, and evaluate. A science of history such a method might very well serve to furnish forth, a philosophy it is incapable of providing. As regards method, then, as well as with respect to matter, Prof. Flint's investigation goes to enforce the conclusion that the temper necessary to a philosophy of history had not been evolved until comparatively recent times. 'Theories which represent history as a mechanically necessitated product, or an inevitable dialectic movement, or a simple organic growth, or the natural consequence of a struggle for existence between individuals and societies, or a fundamentally economic evolution,' have been refuted. Fortified by the experiments of the past, which have extended both to matter and to method, thinkers may now go forward more confidently to strike out a new path for themselves.

In the first place, the wreckage—as many heedlessly call it—of former systems is fraught with useful and instructive material. To take a few instances at a venture. A growing conviction now exists that history, like other records of man's life, is to be interpreted, not by what is lowest, but by what is highest in its constitution. The best results of contemporary culture supply an instrument which it would be folly to leave unemployed. In the light of the essential import of man's relations to his fellow man, as this is presently understood, one can easily perceive many new filiations—new in the sense

that, though operative always, their influence had not previously been estimated at its proper worth. Thus, philosophy of history, while increasing in complexity, becomes more adequate to the difficulties with which it must needs wrestle. The hard lesson of learning to distinguish sharply between mere investigation, with its devotion to isolated or empirical considerations, and metaphysical interpretation, with its intuition of inner unity, has to some extent been mastered. And there is great gain in knowing the difference between even one species of preparation for philosophy and philosophising proper. Indeed, one might go so far as to say, without undue temerity, that a philosophy of history can be successfully propounded only on condition that the paradox which varied failures embody be clearly grasped. For, if the record of the subject enforce one truism more than another, it is that history cannot be reflectively envisaged except from a standpoint which itself is unhistorical. History achieves its proper vocation when it accurately recalls all the constituent members of a certain series. But, thereafter, the series as a whole remains. This, in turn, calls for presentation as a unity. Here the historical vantage ground ceases to be advantageous. For the immanent unity, being ubiquitous as respects time, submits to no yoke except that of the present. And the present in the eyes of the speculative thinker is, if not eternity, at least the necessary accompaniment of any knowledge whatsoever of the eternal. History, on the whole, as it presents itself under the form of unity, supplies the subject matter of philosophy of history. Accordingly, principles and ideals are the objects with which this department of speculation is conversant. The many disappointments, and the few partial successes of former essays in the subject combine to show that coincidences, even though controlled by a seeming law, or cyclic movements, even when recurrent with an approach to regularity, furnish but fringes round the true inner problems. 'Nothing can be more important in any attempt at a philosophical delineation of the course of history than the division into periods. That ought of itself to exhibit the plan of development, the line and distance already traversed, and the direction



of future movement. It should be made on a single principle, so that the series of periods may be homogeneous, but on a principle so fundamental and comprehensive as to pervade the history not only as a whole, but in each of its elements, and to be able to furnish guidance to the historian of any special development of human knowledge and life. The discovery and proof of such a principle is one of the chief services which the philosophy of history may be legitimately expected to render to the historian of science, of religion, of morality, and of art.\* To-day, as Prof. Flint's weighty words tell, we at last possess indications of the direction in which to seek genuine philosophical questions respecting history, even if our expectations of an immediate answer be none too hopeful. Consequently, views alike of the matter and of the method of philosophy of history tend to be unhistorical in themselves, because relative to the present, from which they derive both their significance and value.

To attain such a standpoint a special discipline is necessary. It is indispensable, not merely to have acquaintance with history proper, and with philosophy proper, but also to know generally how these two departments have hitherto impinged upon one another. For provision of the requisite training nothing could be more admirable than Dr. Flint's work. Free from prejudice, fair almost to a fault, of marvellous range and remarkable for its compendious information, it is well calculated to render highest service. The record here presented is sometimes far from encouraging, but, taken collectively, it is of the kind to inspire hope. It tends throughout to discourage finality, and to foster that eager yet reserved habit of mind on which philosophical progress so largely depends. It may not be out of place, therefore, before noting some of the characteristics of the book by way of conclusion, to mention very briefly one or two of the reflections regarding the matter and method of philosophy of history which it has suggested.

The presuppositions of that association of men which makes history possible are, speaking generally, not necessarily obscure

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\* *Flint*, p. 328.

in themselves. The abounding difficulties of the subject arise rather from the very complex, and often unexpected, influences which these factors exercise upon one another. What the integral elements themselves are has already been hinted. Human association presupposes subjective and objective conditions in which all men substantially share alike. It also involves a peculiar experience, growing out of and supplementing the common possessions just noted, but not enjoyed by all equally, in any case so far as regards originating power. Society would be impossible were men incapable of communicating with each other on the basis of diffused knowledge. Language, silently accepted conventions, undisputed conclusions as to the nature of 'external' agencies are among the most familiar contents of such knowledge. That is to say, it involves an inner and an outer side. Men become associated, because they enjoy a similar experience, and so adopt similar views of life and the world. This is the subjective side. On the other hand, these associations are undoubtedly affected by external influences so called. Climate, configuration of country, opportunities of foreign intercourse, supply an objective element which is also of vast effect. In the main, philosophy of history must accept these conditions, or an account of them, on the authority of other sciences, and especially from other departments of philosophical inquiry. Its own special task lies with that peculiar experience which has been already remarked as the third, and great, presupposition of history. Ideals and all that they involve, furnish, as we now perceive, the chief motive forces of human association. Consequently, a philosophy of history, in so far as it is truly metaphysical, must essay to show how ideals operate in this inter-relationship to which the name history is given. It has been said above that ideals are not shared by all alike, at least so far as originating genius goes. And here, probably, the clue to the special problems of a metaphysic of history is to be found. The very possibility of a continuous past lies bound up with the origination of ideals, and with the subsequent effort to effect their realisation. Now, while it is true that the framers of ideals derive the materials out of which they build up their own greatness from

the social medium of their day, from the accumulated stores of past knowledge, and from the external conditions under which they live, it is also true that they superadd something to all these. The central figure in a historical crisis, the pilot who sees a new movement through, as the phrase is, may not be legitimately gifted with all the credit. The crisis, as we are accustomed to be told, called them forth. Yet, on the contrary, they, and they alone, achieve the unique results, and are by this very fact original. Ideals are formulated by them, and so, to all intents and purposes, they are creators. This calls attention to the individual element in history. But these ideals possess a missionary force, and pass over into the general mind which, by the mastering power of co-operation, strives to realise them wholly or in part. The reasons for the association of men which makes history, and the principal conditions or presuppositions under which it exists are, thus, comparatively incomplex. But, the moment one comes to view the operations involved, simplicity vanishes; hence the numerous failures with which philosophy has had to bear. Often, for instance, a conflict of ideals ensues. Some timid souls tend to rest satisfied with what has already been accomplished, and desire nothing better than to enjoy quietly such results as have been realised. Others are ever anxious to adopt new movements, assured that they are big with promise of a heaven upon earth. In the same way, too, one nation or race is open to fresh ideals, while another is impervious, or exhibits strong inclination to remain dormant for a time. Further, ideals are many sided in themselves, and when, having quitted the seclusion of their parent soul, they traverse the medium of many spirits, they are apt to acquire new characteristics. 'The pure religion of Christ, for example, falling on Pagan times, becomes tinged in its ritual with Pagan idolatry, and in its creed with Pagan philosophy. Its simple and homogeneous structure, when stretched on the loom, is swiftly set upon by Greek metaphysicians, Egyptian mystics, Neo-platonists, Jews, and Orientalists generally, who interweave it with their subtleties, and dye or stain it with their peculiar superstitions, sentiments, and habits of thought. Learned Divines are kept busy in Ecumenical Councils and

elsewhere, superintending the selection of fibres and blending of colours; an Emperor occasionally standing by and dictating the particular threads of subtlety which are to be interwoven, while his Empress, perhaps, is indulging her preference by choosing the colour which most strikes her fancy.' The chief task of philosophy of history, on its metaphysical side, is to reduce these complexities to simplicity, to discover a general principle underlying them by the presence of which they *reduce themselves* to some kind of rational order.

Where, then, is the attack of philosophy of history upon this problem most likely to be successful? Is there any point at which, on a survey of the past, it ought evidently to be delivered? Without employing misleading analogies, one may say that ideals move in two directions. Aspiration is the striking note of the originating personality. The tendency is upward, and the more intense the rational faith, the greater is the elevating force. When, on the other hand, the faith has been delivered to the people, the upward movement, though not ceasing, is complicated by the patent fact of distribution, and by the varied interpretations put upon the new declared principle by those who apprehend it more or less clearly. Perhaps it might be shown that 'moments' of elevation, which are necessarily referable to individuals, alternate with 'moments' of diffusion, which are most usually traceable in communities. Be this as it may, the point which philosophy of history must needs attack is that of the relation of these two 'moments' to one another. The problem thus presented is sufficiently complex for even the most fearless thinker. It is also sufficiently promising, because it deals with the pre-suppositions productive of history and contributory day by day to the continuance of all that most essentially characterizes it.

Space forbids more than a single reference to the complexity of the problem, and one to its hopefulness, both of which Professor Flint supplies by the way. Ideals are difficult of treatment, because their relation to knowledge, strictly so called, is not as yet perfectly understood. 'Any young man with a turn for physical science may easily serve himself heir to the whole of

the intellectual legacy which "a great physicist" bequeathed to the race. The gains of intellect being thus transmitted from person to person, from generation to generation, are constantly accumulating; the intellectual capital of mankind grows steadily vaster; and those who live latest are the heirs of all the ages, are the richest. In a word, intellectual progress is a fact. Moral acquisitions, however, are not transmitted and accumulated. They are entirely personal. Virtue is not heritable. There is no evidence that the force of will necessary for conformity to moral law is increased in the course of ages; or that the men of to-day act up to their standard of duty more faithfully than those of the earliest times.\* Philosophy of history has yet to exhibit the truth and the falsity of this position. And a determination of these would very largely eliminate the obscurity which still clings around the relation between experience (in the philosophical sense) and ideals. On the objective side, Professor Flint, preserving in most admirable fashion the true impartial attitude of the historian, does not permit himself many remarks; but he indicates his agreement with Renouvier. In connection with the suggestion that ideals have a double movement in history, one might derive further assistance from Renouvier's classification of epochs. Here the twofold motion could be viewed, not simply in itself, but also in its results, so far as these happened to be of a specific character. There may very well be "primary epochs" in which ideals originate; "secondary epochs," those in which beliefs are developed into fully formed dogmas; "tertiary epochs," those in which faith is revolutionised by the progress of science and the commingling of peoples.† The questions, of the relation of such periods to one another, of the general development of ideals, and of the associations of men in which they are respectively revealed, plainly stand in need of completer elucidation from a new point of view. But whatever researches may be instituted, whatever divisions may be made, it is valuable to know that the inquiry and analysis find their proper material in those intangible forces which individuals

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\* *Flint*, pp. 512-3.† *Ibid*, p. 665.

originate under ascertainable social conditions, and which communities elaborate in working out the measure of their contribution to the onward march of the ages.

Further, all this not only throws light upon the nature of the unity in which history consists, but also, by implication, upon the ends towards which it is progressing. A rational metaphysic of history, in other words, naturally tends to a teleological logic. It is evident that an association which is the expression of a double movement of ideals cannot be exhaustively, or even partially, explained by applying the categories peculiar to a mechanical system. The passage of aspiration from one personality to many, seeing it involves loss of primary power, yet with a compensation in scope of distribution, does not suggest an external combination of parts. Neither is it explicable as a combination in which each individual brings his contribution to the whole, and in so doing, drops his own specialised nature, only to appear in a new and almost unrecognisable guise. A more representative analogy would be that of a living organism. But even this is inadequate; and part of the task of philosophy of history is to determine how far the categories incident to organism furnish an acceptable account of history, and how far they fall short of this, so leaving room for the introduction of yet higher notions suitable only to spiritual experience, on which no external analogy can throw complete light. Hence, once more, the logic of history awaits the metaphysic, and a philosophy of history must grapple with the latter ere it can hope to enter legitimately upon the former, its true promised land.

The problem of method, consequently, acquires renewed interest. In this direction, too, the experience of the past proves full of instruction. The course of inquiry which Dr. Flint himself apparently approves, is specifically determined by consideration of former failures. 'In religions are contained nearly all that we know of remote antiquity; they have always been intimately connected with the state of moral sentiment and even intellectual speculation; the only proper method of investigating them is that of comparison, analysis, induction, and all *a priori* philosophies of history have arbitrarily and



excessively simplified their course and succession.'\* The most serviceable method, however, is of a complex kind, including as factors induction, in the broadest sense, and deduction. Each of these has its own place, and if kept carefully distinct from the other, its own value. Ultimate reality cannot be reached by either alone, at least not within the sphere of philosophy of history. Only when the independently ascertained results of the two coincide, have we a strong presumption that something essential has been happened upon. Induction may take note of isolated elements, deduction may lead to the recognition of broad primary causes. But neither satisfies. The one tends to emphasize constitution, the other to fix upon development, progress, humanity, or some such general idea. Accordingly, while both require to be employed, true philosophical science comes in time to outgrow them. Philosophy of history must be circumspect in determining this 'psychological moment.' And, looking to the past, the probabilities are that the study is not yet ripe for consideration of that controlling ideal of ideals which it is the business of speculation proper to set forth. Interpretation is the want; but the facts to be interpreted are themselves still desiderata, because they are as yet under dispute. As far as methods can aid, we have knowledge and to spare, but the wisdom which depends upon synthesis still lingers. The knowledge, obtained *a priori* and *a posteriori*, has failed to yield up the elements on which synthesis may be successfully superimposed. Probably this will ever be the defect of philosophy of history, as of all genuine speculation; it constitutes, nevertheless, not only a stumbling block but an incentive. The knowledge acquired by induction alone, or by deduction alone, is never any man's enemy, except in so far as he permits himself to rest satisfied with it. To arrive at essential reality, he must needs combine. Empirical generalisations philosophy of history cannot help making. But it does not thus attain its proper sphere. The synthesis, of which these generalisations are the basis, is a product, not of the simple knowledge which they attest, but of

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\* *Flint*, pp. 663-4.

spiritual insight; and here deductive interpretation holds sway. If philosophy of history can show that the principles which it adopts as the deductive complementaries of its inductive research are not in conflict with the facts of history, nay, rather throw light upon them; and that they establish a species of new reading which transforms history without altering it, then the basis for a statement of the method will have been found. Only then, too, will the teleological inquiry, which is most deeply logical, have come within sight.

In conclusion, one ought to insist that Dr. Flint evinces a wise instinct in according so large a place to modern theories of his subject. They, and only they, as we have tried to notice, grasp the real magnitude of the issues of historical philosophising. Of the many criticisms which might be passed upon his work, few seem to damage, chiefly because the author is so seldom taken at his word. One might object to the absence of the comparative method of treatment, for example. But, plainly, it was no part of the plan to split philosophies of history into nicely balanced groups. One might take exception to the national arrangement adopted. Yet this is just as useful as a wider or narrower division would conceivably have been, and it has the advantage of aiding accuracy. On the other hand, highest praise is due to Dr. Flint, first, for his extraordinary learning and care; and second, for his complete elevation above anything like partizanship—a most refreshing quality in a modern philosophical treatise. No future worker in this department of speculation can afford to neglect his book. The vivid manner in which past systems are set forth, the impartiality that meets out their defects and excellencies, the acuteness displayed in disentangling their methods, cannot but form essential portions of the discipline with which future writers must brace themselves. In this manner mainly Dr. Flint's work will influence new departures. The dangers and difficulties special to the inquiry are everywhere indicated; its past matter and methods may be conveniently learned here; and lessons may be gleaned from consideration of the causes productive of ancient failure or success. As a compendious analysis of all these, the *History of the Philosophy of History*

stands in need of no praise, and cannot be affected by blame. The admiration which the present volume compels ought to be the measure of the anxiety with which all real scholars will await the delivery of future instalments. When completed, the work will rank high among those aids to intellectual discipline, in the absence of which speculation is only too likely to be abstract to permanent futility or shallow to temporary partizan edification.

R. M. WENLEY.

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ART. V.—THE MASTER MASONS OF SCOTLAND.

*The Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland.* By the Rev. R. S. MYLNE, M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A. Scott & Ferguson: Edinburgh. 1893.

ANY satisfactory attempt at a complete survey of the various works of the royal architects in early times was a desideratum in the literary and architectural world before the opportune publication of the *King's Master Masons* in the late autumn of 1893. In the course of the earlier chapters of this bulky work a large amount of original information not hitherto accessible to the general public has been brought together, and will prove of special interest to all those learned persons who make a particular study of the archæology of architecture. The record, indeed, (except as regards the ancient Bridge of Perth) does not commence before the accession of King James III. in the year 1460, but from that comparatively early date very full details are given in illustration of the closing years of the mediæval period of Scottish history. Such minute points are the more valuable, as genuine documents prior to the melancholy death of King James IV. are not readily to be met with by the student of the archæology of North Britain: and are, moreover, full of instruction in reference to the final close of one

great period of modern history, and the marked contrast with which the next period opens.

Thus it is curious to note in the Charter and Statutes of the masons and wrights of Edinburgh, anno 1485, that the official processions of the Guild through the Scottish Capital are to be conducted in the same method and manner as is usual in the town of Bruges, showing some early business connection between Flanders and Scotland. As may be naturally expected at this date, there is an intimate alliance between the Church and the building crafts, who maintain the altar of S. John the Evangelist, in the Collegiate Church of S. Giles, whose members for the first and second offence contribute wax towards the altar lights, and after that are punishable by the Provost and Bailies of the town.

The contract of 1502 for completing the Tolbooth of Edinburgh gives the current rate of wages:—10s. a week to John Marser, the principal mason, and 9s. a week to the other masons employed on this municipal work. Well hewn ashler stone cost 2d. per foot.

Of greater interest is the Precept of 1503, whereby King James IV. grants a pension of £40 per annum to Leonard Logy, his faithful priest and architectural adviser, in consideration of his diligent and great labour upon the palace beside the Abbey of the Holy Cross: because it appears certain from other contemporary records that Logy's work includes the foundations of the present well-known Queen Mary's Tower at Holyrood, the only portion of the present palace that was erected before the Reformation. 'Its stout walls and solid masonry,' as the author of the *King's Master Masons* observes, 'have withstood the dire effects of fire and siege by the enemy, as well as the destructive influence of political change, and internal revolution.'

Another interesting document granted by the same monarch is the license of 1491 to John Dundas of Dundas, to erect a Fortress on the Rock of Inchgarvie, lying in the water of Forth, between the passages of the Queen's Ferry. How startled would the old laird be, if he could now revisit his former haunts, and find a massive iron pier of the mighty

Forth Bridge now resting on the precise spot once occupied by his solid stone castle! No remnants now of his 'moats, and iron gates, drawbridge, tumlars, portcullises, battlements, machicolations, crenelles, skowlares,' and other munitions and defences! But such are the manifold changes wrought by the lapse of time.

Other early writs of the King have been collected by our author with much care and pains, including one to Nichol Crawford, Justice Clerk, containing an important clause dispensing with all future Acts of Parliament! Mr. Mylne draws a brief parallel between this ancient writ of James V., and the well known dispensing power claimed by Charles I., and the later sovereigns of the House of Stuart, which so materially helped to bring about their final downfall.

But we must pass on to the conclusion of the first chapter, which contains the remarkable record of all the principal householders along the High Street of the old town of Edinburgh, immediately before the disastrous battle of Flodden. A list of this kind so early in date is somewhat uncommon, and it is curious to note what a large proportion of the owners were ecclesiastics. Mention is also made of the printing premises of Walter Chepman, a genuine pioneer of all true learning, distinguished as having set up the first printing press in the Scottish Capital.

We imagine that the map of the siege of Edinburgh under the Earl of Hertford in 1544, which is inserted between the first and second chapters of this book, will form a complete novelty to most readers. The original sheet is preserved amongst the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. Apart from its reproduction for the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, it has never before been given to the public: and there is no plan of so early a date existing in the North. The Cowgate would not naturally come into the view of a besieging army approaching from the northern side of the town, but in defiance of the rules of perspective, we are shown these lower houses as well as those situated in the High Street, the object being to give a complete idea of the city.

Chapter II. gives the public career of Alexander, Abbot of

Cambuskenneth—ecclesiastic, statesman, lawyer, historian, architect. Space forbids any attempt at enumerating in full detail the wonderful industry of this energetic and powerful character, who seemed able with equal success to lay his hand upon all the various threads of public life, and was capable of shining as a bright luminary amongst the heads of both Church and State. In the midst of secular occupation he never forgot his high ecclesiastical position. He was, in fact, one of the last of those noble ecclesiastical statesmen who throughout the middle ages were illustrious in the romantic annals of Scotland. Possessed of the confidence of the people as well as the King, and in favour with Pope Leo X., his public position was secure. His zeal for the practical welfare of the nation was shewn in the erection of bridges, the careful preservation of ancient documents, and the undertaking of the laborious duties of first President of the Court of Session, still the supreme legal tribunal of Scotland. No one can study the record of his life without pronouncing him great as well as pious, of wide and statesman-like views, as well as devoted to the Christian Church.

Incorporated in this second chapter is the Dunkeld Bridge Account, a long document which has been translated from the original Latin MS. preserved in the Advocates Library in Edinburgh with great pains and care. Not only on account of its antiquity, but also on account of the thorough light shewn in reference to later mediæval customs and habits of life, this particular document possesses a very special interest. We see plainly both the organisation in detail of a mediæval diocese, and the general system of building bridges in vogue amongst mediæval bishops. When the masons did not dine with the Bishop of Dunkeld, he always sent them an extra penny apiece. The mention of *steel* is remarkable, and there are some curious words without Latin equivalents, as *wesps*, *nops*, *plancheour*, *garroun*, *brandier*, *croy*, *hames*, and *thettis*. *Noonschanks* was afternoon tea, or rather a light supper. If a workman died, they were careful to provide his '*wyndynschet*' as in the case of Robert Cawquhyn, who had 3 ells of linen. George Brown, Lord Bishop of Dunkeld, bequeathed



the bulk of his personal property for the completion of the Bridge, charging Alexander Mylne, the Canon of that Cathedral, and James Fentoun, the Precentor, to execute the directions contained in his last will and testament. This they were very careful to do. Nothing, however, now remains of the handsome bridge then erected.

Concerning the family of Franche, whose architectural record is preserved in Chapter III., we may note how Thomas, the most distinguished of this name, commenced his public career under that noble Bishop of Aberdeen, William Elphinstone, in the honourable capacity of builder of the famous old bridge over the river Dee, still used for ordinary traffic, though widened with judgment as well as elegance between the years 1841 and 1844. From the service of the Bishop he passed to that of the King, and left his permanent and enduring mark on the royal palaces of Linlithgow and Falkland. In the year 1535, when James V. was at Kelso, the writ under the Privy Seal of Scotland was issued whereby he became Master Mason to the Crown 'for all the dais of his lif.' Henceforth he was one of the chief architectural advisers of this artistic Stuart sovereign. Thomas Franche's public career, as our author justly observes, 'illustrates the great historic fact that at the beginning (or rather perhaps the middle) of the sixteenth century the Church ceased to be the great builder amongst the nations, and the civil government began to occupy the public position so long held by the Episcopate.' In the same year that Thomas Franche was appointed King's Master Mason, he also received a bounty of £20, and an interesting photograph of the original document will be found opposite to p. 41 of the book we are now considering. The sign manual is appended, a somewhat uncommon occurrence in writs of this class. On the upper portion of the same page is exhibited a facsimile of the last sheet of the royal accounts for building purposes for the year 1529, with the authentic signatures of the Lords Auditors subjoined. First amongst these signatories is Alexander Cambuskenneth.

Franche's influence, however, was soon eclipsed by the French masons, who came to Scotland in the train of James

V.'s French bride, Mary of Lorraine. Nicholas Roy was the chief of this class, and became King's Master Mason under writ of the Privy Seal in 1539. Moyse or Mogin Martyne received custody of the Castle of Dunbar, while Peter the Flemishman carved the figures that yet survive on the southern front of Falkland Palace. Bartrahame Foliot was employed in paving the streets by the corporation of Edinburgh.

After careful examination, it appears easy to trace at the present time the definite results of this French influence at both Stirling Castle and Falkland Palace. The somewhat fantastic figures placed along the battlements, the decorative work superadded to the simpler wall structure, the buttress of Renaissance design in front of mediæval walls, alike point to the blending of foreign and native skill, and the joint labours of French and Scottish workmen. Upon the facts given above Mr. Mylne thus comments :—

‘All authorities note the remarkably French characteristics of the details—the distinct hint of the Renaissance style superadded to the Gothic after Parisian fashion, or Orleanois type, so different in detail to the later influence of the Renaissance throughout the whole of Europe, and Great Britain in particular. The fantastic decoration, and the peculiar figures that fill the niches, are more in keeping with the quaint phantasy of Gaul than the sterner forms prevalent in the North. The mere exuberance of fancy is permitted to run riot, producing a gorgeous but somewhat extravagant effect. There is great richness, but a lack of purity in this particular style.’

The close connection with France is also shewn by various quotations from contemporary documents. Thus in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer for 1539 the following entry occurs :—

Item, for the vj. masonis expens quhilk the Duke of Groys sends to the  
kingis grace x<sup>li</sup>.

In the same year Anthoinette de Bourbon, Duchess of Lorraine writes to her daughter, the Queen of Scotland :—

‘Je esté bien ayse voir vous estes contente des massons, etc.’

Moreover, Nicholas Roy was succeeded in the office of King's Master Mason by another Frenchman, John Roytell.

He was also a burghess of Edinburgh, having been admitted at the special request of the Prior of Holyrood.

‘Johannes Ryotell lathomus Gallus effectus est burgensis in judicio et datur eidem gratis ad requestum prioris monasterii Sancte Crucis qui prepositum et ballivos in dicto monasterio predie existentes eosdem bene tractabat.’

At the foot of p. 54 will be found a list of the signed letters of King James V., preserved in the National Library at Paris.

In the month of June, 1567, Mary Queen of Scots left Holyrood for Lochleven Castle, never to return. At once the French influence was swept away, and the leaders of the Reformation in religion obtained the upper hand. There was much confusion in Church and State for more than a decade of years.

Harie Balfour became Master of works in 1561, and Sir Robert Drummond of Carnock in 1579; who executed works at Doune Castle, and elsewhere. His successor, however, William Schaw, was a man of greater distinction. He was a prominent Freemason, and his name is of frequent occurrence in the early records of the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh. He was also a favourite with Queen Anne, and while he carried out some works at most of the Royal Palaces, his name will be always chiefly remembered in connection with the Abbey of Dunfermline. On his sudden death in 1602, an elaborate monument was erected to his memory by his Royal Patroness in this noble Church.

We must now turn to the family of Mylne, first distinguished in the annals of Scotland under James III., in connection with the art of building. At this period, however, John Mylne of Dundee, wins for himself an assured position of prominence, which is continually maintained by his descendants in after generations. He was employed by Lord Somerville to build Drum House, and also erected the old Cross of Dundee, whose original shaft has recently been erected beside the principal church of the town. For putting the whole of the harbour works in a state of efficiency, he was made a Burghess of the town gratis, while in 1589 he undertook to erect a gallery and certain other additions for Thomas Bannatyne, in his house at

the Kirktown of Newtyle. The original contract is given pp. 66-9, and contains some curious regulations and quaint expressions. Thus 'lummingis' is the chimney shaft, 'kaip' equals cope, and 'doucat' the dovecote.

After executing various other works in the town of Dundee, in the year 1604 or 1605 he removed to Perth, and spent the remainder of his life in building the stone bridge of eleven arches over the water of the Tay, which was swept away by a tremendous flood on October 14, 1621. The builder had died earlier in the same year, and thus avoided seeing the bridge's terrible downfall. Chapter VI. gives a complete sketch of the history of the various attempts to span the water of Tay beside the town of Perth, from the days of King William the Lion to the time of King Charles II. Those who care for such archaeological lore would do well to look into this portion of the work with care and attention, and incidentally they will find mention of other matters connected with the old town, as the annual race for the silver bell held at Eastertide, and the strong objection maintained by the Kirk Session to any citizen travelling in Spain or Portugal. Alexander Lowrie, having visited the latter country, was 'admonischit nocht to trawell to thess partiss agane, except that thay wer wthervyss reformat in religione.' Yet he was careful to state that he had never attended high mass. The geographical importance of Perth is fully appreciated by our author, as by all familiar with the neighbourhood. 'Situated at the southern outlet of wild mountain passes in the Grampians, accessible to the North Sea by means of the broad water of Tay, half way between the Western Highlands and the chill East Coast, Perth was well adapted for the royal residence, and the capital of the kingdom. The swift flowing river was a dividing line, and the absolute necessity for easy means of transit was keenly felt with the first dawn of civilisation.'

We must now pass on to other matters. William Wallace became King's Master Mason in 1617, was an active member of the Lodge of Mary's Chapel, and executed much work about the Royal Palaces. In the earlier entries, he is generally called the Carver, and in the midst of his great work at

Heriot's Hospital, he suddenly died. Though the general plan was sent from London by the Dean of Rochester, due credit for the elaboration of detail must be given to this eminent master builder, while all critics agree in the acknowledged beauty of the result.

On Wallace's death John Mylne of Perth became Master Mason to Charles I. Commencing his professional career by assisting his father in the erection of the stone bridge over the water of Tay, he was called to Edinburgh by the Town Council to complete the statue of the King upon the Netherbow Port, as well as to re-erect the Town Cross. His next task was the building of the Parish Church of Falkland, under contract with David Lord Scone; and then the construction of a new steeple for the Tolbooth of the City of Aberdeen. In 1629-30 he made the sun-dial at present in the beautiful gardens of Drummond Castle, and re-built portions of this romantic Perthshire residence. In 1633, together with his two sons, he constructed the famous sun-dial now in the royal gardens of Holyrood, so richly decorated with the initials and appropriate emblems of the noble Princes of the House of Stuart. Afterwards he worked at Heriot's Hospital, of which there are some good engravings in the book. When he had held the office of Master Mason five years, he resigned in favour of his son John, and retired to Perth, where he died Master of the Lodge of Scone and Perth in 1658. The curious lists of masons working on the royal castles and palaces form a special feature of this seventh chapter, as well as the full particulars concerning the foundation of the Bishopric of Edinburgh, the masonic document relating to Perth, and the brief notice of Alexander Mylne, the sculptor, who died at the early age of thirty.

We think, however, that the account of John Mylne of Edinburgh, contained in the next chapter, will prove of greater interest. This remarkable man came into prominence at the early age of twenty-five, when he became Master Mason to Charles I., and in the next year Master Mason to the City of Edinburgh. Amongst his architectural works we may note the Tron Church in the High Street of Edinburgh, Panmure House in the county of Forfar, now the property of the

young Earl of Dalhousie, and the Town Hall of the Royal Burgh of Linlithgow. He also executed repairs on many important buildings, notably the famous Church of S. Giles, and the magnificent Abbey of Jedburgh. The official report on the latter sacred edifice concludes by saying, 'the Master of Works wonders how either the minister dare be bold to pray, or the people to hear.'

Beside making various additions to the College in Edinburgh, John Mylne also became Master Mason to Heriot's Hospital, and executed various minor works in and about the good town, so well known to fame as the capital of Scotland. In other departments, however, beside architecture, John Mylne left distinct traces of his genius and influence, for in the year 1646 he became Captain of Pioneers, and Master Gunner for the Castle of Edinburgh and all Scotland, and in 1652 was sent to London as one of the official Commissioners to arrange a Treaty of Union with the Parliament of England under the authority of the Lord Protector Oliver Comwell. He was at the same time one of the members for Edinburgh in the Scottish Parliament.

On the restoration of King Charles II., he was confirmed in all his offices by that sovereign, and was employed to make plans of Holyrood, one of which has recently been discovered in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Great interest attaches to this document, because it shews alterations and extensions which had been intended to have been carried out by earlier Stuart Princes. According to a learned paper recently read by W. W. Robertson, Esq., Surveyor for Scotland to H. M. Office of Works, it also shews the condition of the palace at the actual date of the Restoration. Of course, the lordly designs of that unfortunate monarch Charles I., altogether failed of realisation. What terrible irony is there in the words of the text with which he crowned such work as he was enabled to execute!

'HE SHALL BUILD AN HOUSE  
FOR MY NAME, AND I WILL  
STABLISH THE THRONE  
OF HIS KINGDOM  
FOR EVER.'



John Mylne died in December, 1667, and the Incorporated Trades placed an appropriate inscription to his credit and renown over the entrance door of their hall, S. Mary's Chapel, in Niddry's Wynd, now destroyed, from which we quote a few suitable lines:—

Rare man he was, who could unite in one  
Highest and lowest occupation.  
To sit with Statesmen, Councillor to Kings,  
To work with tradesmen in mechanick things.  
May all Brethren, Myln's steps strive to trace,  
Till one, withall, this house may fill his place.

The long Latin inscription in the Greyfriars' churchyard, over his actual place of burial, is too well known to require quotation. His nephew, Robert, was appointed his successor as King's Master Mason, and made for himself an enduring name as the builder of the present Palace of Holyrood. Why Charles II. and his administration in Scotland were so anxious to rebuild the ancient Palace of Holyrood is not very clear, considering the great scarcity of money in the royal exchequer. On this point our author writes as follows:—

'Perhaps the close association for so many years with the Royal House of Stuart was the principal reason that prompted the large expenditure of ill-spared money that actually took place. The old Tower of Queen Mary was regarded as a visible badge of the real sovereignty of her princely descendants. The ecclesiastical associations of the Chapel Royal recalled the monarchical theory of the divine right of kings. The remains of the Abbey beside the Palace suggested to the mind the valued connection between the authorities of the Church and the State. The same idea was in some sort implied by the very name of Holyrood. More truly than with Linlithgow, or Falkland, or Stirling, the royal residence in Edinburgh seemed bound up with the supreme rights of the House of Stuart. Yet King Charles II. was wedded to Whitehall and Windsor, both by necessity and by choice. He can never have seriously intended to take up his residence in Scotland for any length of time.'

Nevertheless, the new works were proceeded with at such pace as was possible. His Grace the Duke of Lauderdale, his brother, Sir Charles Maitland, commonly known as Lord Hatton, Sir William Bruce, Sir William Sharp, and Robert Mylne all did their best to push the business forward, and held frequent conferences, in the King's name and under his royal

authority, in order to expedite the matter. In the book we are now considering the fullest details will be found, extending from pages 160 to 212. Suffice it to say on the present occasion, that the principal contract, from which the present palace may be fairly dated, was signed in the month of March, 1672, for £57,000 Scots, and there were other subsidiary contracts involving further expense. In the original plans, never before printed, and also the numerous private letters between the King and the Duke of Lauderdale and other eminent persons in Scotland, a very interesting light is thrown on the general circumstances of the times. Those who were fortunate enough to be in the possession of high office seem oftentimes ambitious of further preferment, while those who were out in the cold knew they had chance of none. In the actual building operations the best materials appear to be obtained from the most suitable quarter, as England, France, or Holland, and free use of the harbour of Leith is made for shipment. There is no attempt made at the consumption of exclusively Scottish glass, or wood, or stone, or iron. In each case the best material is sought for under the most favourable circumstances, and the excellent quality of the goods is carefully maintained. Jacob de Wet, the well known Dutch painter, was employed upon the interior decorative work; and David Binning supplied French glass; while English lead-gold was provided by Henry Fraser. The wainscott for the King's own apartment came by sea from Rotterdam, and Jan Vansantvoort carved the chimney-pieces in the royal chambers. Sir James Stansfield received £800 Scots for 60 great trees, and John Halbert, together with George Dunserfield, English plasterers, £252 Scots for plastering the third room of the third story of the inner side of the north quarter of the Palace. But lack of space forbids any attempt to enter upon all the details connected with the building of Holyrood. They may be studied at length in the ninth and tenth chapters of the *King's Master Masons*. Opposite page 166 will be found a *facsimile* of an autograph letter written by Lord Lauderdale in 1671, and above it a view of Holyrood under the Commonwealth. The last of the six original drawings relating to the Palace consists

of a curious map showing the titles in 1670 to the various plots of land immediately adjoining the royal residence. It may not be generally known that some of these (marked 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 28, on the aforesaid map) were obtained by purchase from the Lord Bishop and the Dean of Edinburgh. It is further curious to note how strongly John Evelyn objected to *corner* chimney pieces, noting in his diary that in his opinion the King had in this manner spoilt his new hunting box at Newmarket. The lengthy contract, pp. 176-81, is a good specimen of a contemporary document, and throws a side light on the manners and customs of the building trade in the seventeenth century. On page 187 there is an interesting list of all the materials in hand in December, 1674, for the building of Holyrood. This list was made by Charles Maitland, as also the elaborate account of the various weapons of defence in the Castle of Edinburgh in the year 1679, which will be found, pp. 203-9.

Of the present Palace, the western facade was the last portion completed, owing partly to the necessity of taking down stone-work erected by 'the usurpers,' *i.e.*, the English in the days of Cromwell, and owing also to some difference of opinion amongst the constituted authorities as to the best way of finishing this portion of the whole structure. In the month of July, 1676, the contract for the above mentioned work was signed at Holyrood-house between Sir W. Bruce, Sir W. Sharp, and Robert Mylne, at £4,200 Scots.

Mr. Mylne's concluding remarks on the completion of Holyrood Palace seem worth quoting at this place in our review.

'Perhaps the most elegant feature in this palatial structure is the neat blending of the columns of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian order on the three stories of the garden front. If the King had not made objection, there would have been considerably more external decoration. As it is, the whole structure falls far short of the intentions of the earlier kings of Scotland, though sufficient for all actual needs. As the Palace was then finished, it has since remained a noble and enduring memorial of the Sovereign Princes of the ancient House of Stuart.'

From the portrait of the builder, opposite page 217, he seems to have been a genial man, and amongst his other notable works we may mention the Cross of Perth, Wood's

Hospital at Largo, the bridge over the River Clyde at Romell-weill Craggs, 29 miles above Lanark, Mylne's Square and Mylne's Court in the High Street of Edinburgh. It was in a 'laigh shop' or cellar on the basement floor of a tenement in the above mentioned square that, according to the old tradition, the famous treaty of Union was signed and sealed in the days of good Queen Anne. The Commissioners had assembled in an ornamental summer-house at Moray House, to affix their signatures; but, driven out of that place by the infuriated mob, they took refuge in the 'laigh shop' already mentioned, and there completed the deed destined to have so beneficial an influence on the fortunes of both countries. Unlike Sir Robert Mylne of Barnton, whose fortunes rose and fell with the House of Stuart, Robert Mylne, the builder of Holyrood, seems to have been on fairly good terms with the administration of King William III., though of course all his preferment was due to Charles II. and the powerful Duke of Lauderdale. Late in life he executed some work at Heriot's Hospital, and fitted up a house in the Writers Court for the due accommodation of the Writers to the Signet, and finally died in his own house at Inveresk, on December 10th, 1710, at the age of seventy-seven. His handsome monument in the Greyfriars is well known to the great majority of the visitors to Edinburgh.

In consequence of the Act of Union, passed after much strenuous opposition in the year 1707, many changes were made in the entire system of the Scottish administration, the office of King's Master Mason became of less importance, and in the end passed into disuse. Here then, in the strict sense, our subject comes to a natural conclusion. The succession of the King's Master Masons has been traced with the greatest care and diligence from the accession of King James III. to the death of Queen Anne. With the commencement of the eighteenth century, we come upon a new order of things; and we are essentially in modern times. The author of *The Master Masons*, however, cannot resist the natural impulse to add a fourth and last section to his great book, in which he traces what befel the direct descendants of the Master Mason to Queen Anne. We can only briefly notice this section. While

chapter xii. gives the public career of Thomas Mylne, Surveyor to the City of Edinburgh, and William Mylne, the architect of the ponderous North Bridge, which is now threatened with demolition, the next chapter is full of interest on account of the remarkable career of Robert Mylne of London, as highly distinguished as any of the earlier members of the family in the past annals of architecture.

When but a youth he had the inestimable advantage of studying art in the great city of Rome. As our author finely observes :—

‘Once within the vast walls of the Eternal City, he found countless objects of the greatest interest to study—priceless specimens of antique and mediæval art, huge monuments of architectural skill and daring, constructed by the autocratic order of mighty Emperors and Popes, who seem to have thought the whole race of mankind chiefly formed for the particular purpose of carrying out their imperious will. Like many another visitor from every quarter of the civilised world, the young architect, hitherto accustomed to the grey skies and the bleak lands that border the cold North Sea, was utterly astonished at the warmth of beauty and the haughty magnificence of the whole scene. He lingered in the mighty old-world city, and entered upon a serious course of study, enduring for the space of nigh four years.’

And his study was not without fruit, for in 1758 he obtained the Papal silver medal of the Academy of S. Luke, as a first prize in architecture: a fact which Andrew Lumisden, Secretary to the Stuart Princes then exiled in Rome, was careful to note in his private correspondence with Lord George Murray.

Returning to London the following year with a high reputation, Robert Mylne was fortunate enough to be chosen architect of Blackfriars Bridge by the Lord Mayor and Corporation out of sixty-nine competitors, amongst whom was Sir William Chambers. The foundation stone was laid with much official display and ceremony, on November 30th, 1760, and this noble bridge took near ten years in building. The great arch of 100 feet span was formally opened on October 1st, 1764, when the Lord Mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen were rowed underneath in the gorgeous city barge. As Andrew Lumisden, in the kindness of his heart had prophesied, the new bridge,

built of Portland stone, was a decided success, and 'honour and fortune were the consequence of the undertaking.' A long and useful professional career at once opened out for the young architect. Indefatigable in work, patient in business, with inexhaustible energy he seized the opportunities of life, and when he had passed the three score years and ten deemed to be the allotted span of humanity, there was hardly any district of Great Britain which had not received the benefit of his engineering skill or architectural advice. It were tedious to enter upon details in these matters, but in Scotland alone he left his permanent mark on Inverary Castle, to which he made extensive additions for the Duke of Argyll, the old bridge of Glasgow, upon which he was consulted by the Corporation, from whom he received a handsome silver salver, the Heriot's Park Reservoir in Edinburgh, S. Cecilia's Hall, and the reservoir on the Pentland Hills. The noble head of the Argyllshire clans also consulted him in reference to Rosneath Castle, and his country farm-steads in Glenshire. Yet London was the centre of his professional activity, and as Engineer to the New River Company, he resided above forty years at the New River Head in the parish of Clerkenwell. In this important capacity he was charged with the onerous duty of maintaining the purity and efficiency of the water supply for the chief portion of the rapidly growing metropolis of the British Empire. There is grace and elegance in the monumental inscription which he placed upon one of the islands in the stream to the memory of the brave Sir Hugh Myddelton, founder of the New River in the days of James I. :—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
SIR HUGH MYDELTON, BARONET,  
WHOSE SUCCESSFUL CARE  
ASSISTED BY THE PATRONAGE OF HIS KING  
CONVEYED THIS STREAM TO LONDON.  
AN IMMORTAL WORK  
SINCE MAN CANNOT MORE NEARLY  
IMITATE THE DEITY  
THAN IN BESTOWING HEALTH.



If, moreover, we should judge of the practical success of a commercial company by the high value of its original shares, every one will agree that at the present time the New River occupies a perfectly unique position in the financial world. In this special department, he was succeeded by his son, who held office for exactly 50 years; and executed many important improvements in the water system. For further particulars we must refer the reader to the elaborate details contained in the book at present under consideration.

As surveyor to the Stationers' Company, Robert Mylne designed and erected the east front of their Hall on Ludgate Hill during the first year of the present century.

As surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's he had charge of the noble fabric of their magnificent Cathedral from 1766 to 1811, and upon his death in the latter year was buried according to his own desire in the crypt of that great church beside the remains of Sir Christopher Wren, the great stone of whose well known monument he had himself duly set the previous year, as he was careful to note in his own diary. As may be seen from the two beautiful engraved portraits, he was a man of dignity and determination, not easily swayed from any purpose which he might have in hand. The artistic excellence of these two engravings is indeed a marked feature of the book, especially perhaps that delicate plate executed in Paris in the last century, which could hardly be surpassed by any modern work. True lovers of art, apart from the general contents, will prize the volume for these superb illustrations.

Another example of this kind is the highly finished plate of Blackfriars Bridge by Piranesi, the distinguished engraver to the Pontifical Court towards the close of the eighteenth century. We also think highly from the artistic point of view of the two Papal medals shown as an illustration opposite to page 266. We believe that Freebairn, the Scotchman who executed this fine work, is now dead, while the portraits of the two Popes, Clement XIII. and Clement XIV., will well repay the free use of the magnifying glass. But throughout the entire volume the standard of illustration is decidedly high, and to some minds will doubtless form the most attractive feature

in this elegant publication. At the end of all, after the close of the last chapter, which records the public career of William Chadwell Mylne, F.R.S., Engineer to the New River, and Surveyor to the Stationers' Company, and of Robert W. Mylne, F.R.S., Surveyor to the Stationers' Company, we must draw attention to the spirited reproductions of the Four Crown Steeples of the northern parts of Britain. Perhaps, however, we ought only to speak of three, as the Crown Steeple of Linlithgow was taken down in 1820, to avoid the necessary cost of repair, and has never been replaced. In their way these Crowns are unique in Gothic architecture, coming as they do half-way between a spire and a tower. Have they any connection with the monarchical form of government that prevailed in Scotland, or the close union between Church and State existing in the Middle Ages?

Another remarkable picture is the general view of the Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh engaged in their several crafts in front of the royal Palace of Holyrood. Painted by Roderick Chalmers in 1721 for the Lodge of Mary's Chapel, the original production has since been destroyed in the various changes that have taken place in Edinburgh. It illustrates the practical difference between early and modern work, in as much as we here see the various trades at work in harmony, doing their respective portions side by side, the Master Mason putting his hand to it with the rest of the labourers.

Some of the earlier illustrations are also highly creditable, particularly the engravings of Stirling and Linlithgow, and opposite page 48 will be found an interesting example of French workmanship of a decorative character, superadded to earlier Scottish masonry. The small human figures over against the old battlements are certainly suggestive of the age to which they belong, and form an effective picture. Opposite page 41 are photographs of original MSS., which show the great trouble incurred by the author in compilation, and one of these exhibits the sign manual of King James V. It may be noted that the original of the portrait of John Mylne, opposite page 104, is now in the National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh. Altogether, we have but one complaint to make

of this book, and that is its excessive weight, amounting to 10 pounds: yet, perchance, we will pardon this little fault for the excellence of the quality and material. This is the right way to write family and professional history, and to make permanent record of an important office under the Crown.

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#### ART. VI.—JERUSALEM.

THE present renewal of excavations at Jerusalem lends interest to the question of its ancient topography, and of the general results of previous explorations on the site. These results have been published in a large quarto volume called the 'Jerusalem' Volume of the *Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine*, written jointly by Sir Charles Warren and by the present writer in 1884; and since that time the only important addition to the literature has been an article by Sir C. W. Wilson on 'Jerusalem' in the new volume of *Smith's Bible Dictionary*, 1893.

Substantially the results of these various considerations of the topography are in accord, and there are indeed only two questions which remain subject to controversy, one of which is of very minor importance, namely, (1) the situation in which the names Akra or 'Lower City' and 'City of David' or 'Zion' should be written, and (2) the extent that should be embraced within the area of Herod's Temple. As regards the site of the Upper City, the general direction of the 'Second Wall,' the position of the later quarter of Bezetha, the position of En Rogel or Gihon—the only natural water supply of the original city—and as regards many minor points, all the explorers are in accord, and they all agree in rejecting the theory put forward by Dr. Robertson Smith and Prof. Sayce, which restricts the Jerusalem of the Bible to the narrow spur South of the Temple—a theory which cannot be reconciled with the accounts given by Josephus, and which would make the capital of Israel occupy an area of only 10 or even 5 acres, which is evidently impossible, since the ancient cities of Pales-

tine—such as Tyre, Cæsarea, etc., all cover at least 100 acres, and since the population of the smaller area would not have exceeded 500 souls.

The controversies, which have been carried on for the last half century on this subject, are due to the very brief and vague character of the literary accounts, and to the imperfect nature of our actual information due to exploration. The city being still inhabited, and the modern buildings extending over the great part of the ancient site, it has always been impossible to lay bare the foundations except in parts where there are now no buildings standing. The city and the Temple were razed to the ground by Titus, and no ruins are left above the surface, except the western towers and the walls of the Temple enclosure which were too massive to be overthrown. Huge mounds of rubbish, often 100 feet in depth, cover the rock and obscure the ancient conformation of the hills; and within the modern city it has only been possible to ascertain the old levels in cases where foundations have been dug for houses, or where excavations have been made for other purposes. Yet even under these difficulties great advance has been made in the actual study of the site, and the question now rests on a very different basis from that on which it was perforce considered before the memorable excavations by Sir Charles Warren. The rock levels are known at 50 points within the area of the Haram or Temple enclosure, and in some parts the rock is on the surface over a large area. More than 230 observations—sometimes extending over 100 yards distance—have been made of the rock surface in other parts of the ancient city. It must also be remembered that the rock is known wherever it appears on the surface, and that in all other cases its level cannot be higher than that of the present streets. From such observations it is clearly possible to attain to a fairly exact idea of the original features of the ground.

The modern city may be said roughly to be a mile square within the walls, representing a town not larger than ancient Winchester, and about two-thirds of the area of Jerusalem in the time of Titus. The population can never have exceeded some 30,000 to 40,000 persons; but even when thinly

inhabited in the time of Nehemiah it appears (Neh. vii. 4-66; xi. 1,) to have amounted to 5000 at least.\* The general features of the site are too well known to need much description, excepting in cases where the ancient hill features have been obscured by the filling up of the valleys. The South-western quarter stands on a square flat-topped hill which, since the 4th century at least, has always been called Sion, and which in the opinion of all writers of authority represents the Upper City. This is bounded on the west and south by the great ravine, which is now called Wâdy Rabâbeh, and which in the general opinion represents the ancient Valley of Hinnom. The plateau has a level of about 2,500 feet above the sea, and the ground to the west of the town is at about the same level.

The Upper City is bounded on the north by a broad deep valley, now much filled in with debris, but still perceptible, running eastwards towards the Temple hill. The hill of the Upper City appears originally to have had an almost precipitous cliff on its North side, forming the South bank of this broad deep ravine. The levels of the rock, especially towards the East, prove the existence of a scarp, or of a very steep slope, and on the East of the hill this scarp is plainly seen, under the houses which face the Haram enclosure. The modern South wall runs over the middle of the flat hill-top, but South of this the ancient South-west corner of the city is represented by a rock scarp of great height, with projecting foundations for towers, under the Protestant School and Cemetery, which were thoroughly examined during excavations conducted by Mr. H. Maudslay in 1874. This corner forms a starting point, from which future excavations may be carried eastwards along the South wall of the ancient Upper City.

The width and depth of the Northern Valley, which underlies the centre of the modern city, were ascertained by excavations conducted by order of the Emperor William of Germany in 1872-3, on the site of the ancient Hospital of the Knights of

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\* If the women are not counted in the enumeration the total would be 10,000.

St. John, given by the Sultan to Germany. In the great cisterns and vaults under this Hospital the rock floor was examined over a considerable distance; and instead of a narrow and shallow gulley, formerly supposed here to exist, a very large ravine was thus discovered, dividing the ancient site into two great quarters North and South. The spur or knoll North of this valley, in the vicinity of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, runs out of the plateau West of the city, but has been proved by numerous observations to be lower and much smaller than that of the Upper City South of the dividing valley. The highest point on this Northern knoll was ascertained in 1882 to be the floor of what is now called the Chapel of Calvary. The rock is here found in a sort of a cliff, reached by steps from the floor of the church, 10 feet above the general level. The knoll slopes gradually eastwards, and is bounded by a deep narrow ravine which runs from the well known Damascus Gate (in the North wall of the modern city) to Siloam, East of the upper city; and into this ravine the broader dividing valley from the West, already noticed, debouches near the Temple. The rock in this part of the city under the West wall of the Haram or Temple is at a considerable depth beneath the surface, and the streets, though gradually leading down from West to East, are based on a great accumulation of rubbish. This filling in of the narrow valley may be very ancient, according to the account given by Josephus of the Hasmonean engineering works which levelled the city in this quarter.

The Temple Hill is a long spur, running between the site of the city and the gorge of the Kedron, which divides it from Olivet. The spur originally joined the plateau North of the city, but at an early date it was cut off by a rocky trench, cut East and West across the hill; and the crest of the spur South of this ditch was then scarped on all sides, leaving an oblong block of rock which (by common accord) is regarded as the site of the Citadel of Antonia, overlooking the Temple Courts at the North-west angle of the enclosure. South of this scarped block there is a small plateau, which rises into a knoll formed by the Sakhrah or sacred 'rock,' now covered by the



famous 'Dome of the Rock'; and South of this the spur narrows gradually, having very steep slopes to East and West, and falling southwards along the crest, so that a small tongue of hill with very steep sides projects, beyond the Haram, towards the junction of the Kedron and of the city valleys at Siloam. This spur is called 'Ophel' in the Bible, a word which signifies a 'swelling' or 'tumour' of the ground.

The Northern part of this Eastern hill joining the plateau of the Judean watershed is naturally higher than the level of the Sakhrah, and it is generally agreed that this represents the quarter called Bezetha by Josephus. The small ravine which runs South-east to the Kedron, North of the Haram, partially divides the Bezetha Hill, and its bed cuts across the N.E. angle of the Haram.

This is the natural site of Jerusalem as now ascertained by excavation, and by levels. It is the site described by Josephus (5 Wars, iv. 1) and there is only one detail in his account concerning which differences of opinion exist, namely as to the precise situation of what he calls Akra or the Lower City. This difference does not materially affect the general understanding of the topography in the time of Christ, or in the earlier days of the Kings of Judah, and it has little importance except in the eyes of specialists. Josephus says that the city stood on two hills, of which the larger supported the Upper City. The site of this quarter is universally placed, as above noticed, where the present South-west quarter of Jerusalem exists. The second hill, divided from the Upper City by the Tyropœon Valley, supported Akra or the Lower City; and the rows of houses climbed the two slopes of this valley. Josephus proceeds to describe a third hill, 'over against' the other two, and divided from them by a valley, which hill apparently he does not include within the city itself, which he states to have occupied only two. The Akra hill he describes as 'gibbous' in form, so that it can neither have been a square plateau like that of the Upper City, nor a long ridge like the Temple Hill.

In the opinion of Robinson, De Vogüë, Sir Charles Warren, and of the present writer, the only site which can be supposed to represent Akra or the Lower City is the smaller knoll near

the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the existence of which has been proved by the actual examination of the rock. Sir Charles Warren supposes that the eastern part of this spur, close to the Temple, was once much higher than now, and that it was cut down by the Hasmoneans as Josephus states. It is evident that the term Lower City must have applied to that part of Jerusalem which lay in the central valleys, lower than the surrounding hills; but, on the other hand, the term Akra signifies a 'hill-top' or 'citadel,' and this Akra is said to have been originally higher than the Temple. Josephus uses the term *ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ*, in describing the relation of the Akra to the Temple, which Whiston translates 'adjoined'; but the strict sense of the term is 'to extend opposite' to some other object, so that the actual contiguity to the Temple Hill is not proved by the term.\*

Sir Charles Wilson contends that the Akra was the site of the later Antonia, north of the Temple, basing his conclusion partly on this Greek expression, and partly on other passages which may be interpreted in favour of such a view. The Akra was destroyed by Simon the Hasmonean at a time when the hill itself was cut down and the valley inside the city partly filled in. In this case the 'third hill' must be placed, as he supposes, where other authorities agree in placing Akra. The question is thus one of nomenclature, rather than of any dispute as to the extent of the ancient city. The objections to this view which seem to be suggested by other incidental notices of Jerusalem are, 1st, that there were no houses on the eastern hill where the Temple stood, such as Josephus describes rising from the Tyropæon Valley, and 2nd, that Jonathan the Hasmonean built a wall (1 Macc., xii., 31. 13 Antiq., v., 11) to separate the Akra from the market of Jerusalem, which wall is described as being 'in the midst of the city.' It is well known that, in the times which followed, there was a wall in the middle of Jerusalem on the north side of the Upper City, running east to the Temple, and this probably was Jonathan's wall; but such a wall could hardly be described

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\* See Antiq., XII., 9, 2.

as dividing the market (which was in the Upper City, as it still is) from the Akra, if the latter was north of the Temple. If, on the other hand, the Akra was where it is usually placed the description is easily understood. There was no city market in the Temple, nor would a wall on the eastern side be described as in the middle of the city. John Hyrcanus, rather later than Simon, built the Citadel of Baris, which stood on the site of the later Antonia,\* and it is curious—if Akra was on this site—that the Hasmoneans should so soon restore a citadel which they had destroyed by lowering its site, and filling in the valley. For which reasons the nomenclature which is to be found on nearly all maps of Jerusalem since the time of Robinson, and which is repeated on the most recent ones published by scholars both in Oxford and in Cambridge, appears likely to be generally accepted as final. But controversy on this subject would not have arisen had not the ancient descriptions been loosely worded, and capable of more than one plausible explanation.

We may now consider the general growth of Jerusalem, from the earliest times down to its capture by Saladin, and the points on which it is expected that further excavations might throw light. The only points on which any considerable

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\* Antonia still remains dominating the Temple, but of the Akra Josephus says, (13 Ant., vi., 7), 'So they all set themselves to the work and levelled the mountain, and in that work spent both day and night without intermission, which cost them three whole years before it was removed, and brought to an entire level with the rest of the city. After which the Temple was the highest of all the buildings, now the Citadel, as well as the mountain on which it stood, were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.' He says again that there was 'a third hill, but naturally lower than Akra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in these times when the Hasmoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the Temple. They then took off part of the height of Akra, and reduced it to be of less elevation than it was before, that the Temple might be superior to it.' (5 Wars, iv., 1). All this agrees with Sir C. Warren's view. A great change was obviously effected in the site, and Akra became lower than the Temple, whereas Antonia was always higher, even in the time of Josephus, and still is so.

difference of opinion exists concern the 'City of David' and the site of the Temple. The discoveries already made have set at rest many points which were previously often in dispute; and the theory that the Jerusalem of Pre-Exilic times was merely a small village south of the Temple, with perhaps a citadel north of the Temple, is contradicted both by the description of Josephus, and by the carefully ascertained levels of the rock. It is certain that the Upper City lay south-west of the Temple hill, and Josephus definitely states that this was the 'fort of Sion' captured by David (7 Ant., viii., 1. 5 Wars, iv., 1). It is also certain that a valley divided the Upper and Lower City, both of which quarters, according to the historian, existed in David's time. No such valley divides into two the eastern Temple hill; and the south part of that hill is the lowest and not the highest part of the ridge. Dr. Sayce, indeed, has drawn such a valley on a small sketch plan which he published in 1883, and which bears no scale; but the rock is here visible in places on the surface, and its level was also determined in 20 places where it is hidden—during the excavations of Sir Charles Warren. It has thus been made quite certain that there is no depression in the ridge, where this theoretical valley has been supposed to have existed.

The earliest known notices of Jerusalem occur in the Tell Amarna tablets, about 1480-50 B.C., when the name is spelt *Uru-sa-lim*, and *U-ru-sa-lim*, 'the City of Peace,' agreeing with the usual explanation of the name as meaning 'abode' (*Jeru*) 'of peace' (*salem*). The King of Jerusalem who writes to Egypt speaks also of the *Bitu Amilu* in the city, which may represent the *Millo* of the Old Testament, a term which Josephus connects with the Lower City. In the topographical chapters of the Book of Joshua the name Jebus stands for Jerusalem (Joshua, xv., 8), as also in Judges (xix., 10). The name Jerusalem is also found in the Book of Joshua (x., 1) in enumerating the Amorite Kings. The boundary line of Judah ran from Enrogel (now called the Virgin's fountain) westwards up the valley of Hinnom (Joshua, xv., 8) on the south side of Jebus, and this again appears clearly to indicate that Jebus stood on the South-western hill of the Upper City,

which is bounded by the Valley of Hinnom as already explained.

There is, however, a later passage which is often quoted as proving that the 'City of David' stood on the spur South of the Temple (2 Chron. xxx. 32), for Hezekiah's aqueduct from Enrogel or Gihon to Siloam (which still exists, bearing a Hebrew inscription of Hezekiah's time), is said to have been brought 'to the West side of the City of David.' It was, however, long since seen by Keil that this is a mistranslation. The Hebrew words, *marabah al*, signify strictly 'westwards to;' for the particle *al* signifies movement towards, and cannot be rendered 'on.' The passage properly rendered thus indicates that the 'City of David' was West of the end of the aqueduct at Siloam. The term is stated by Josephus to mean nothing more than Jerusalem generally, as the capital and royal home of David, not including such suburbs as grew up later. In the Bible (1 Kings, viii. 1) we also learn that the Temple was not in the City of David, nor was Solomon's palace (1 Kings, ix. 24; 2 Chron. viii. 11) which adjoined the Temple (2 Kings, xi. 16; Neh. iii. 25), while the wall built on Ophel, South of the Temple, by King Manasseh (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14) was equally 'outside' the City of David. The term Sion, which seems in some cases to be equivalent to the City of David (2 Sam. v. 9), and which is never found in Josephus, appears to be a poetical name for Jerusalem; and although it is of very frequent use, there does not appear to be a single passage in which it is definitely fixed as applying to any particular quarter of the town. It is only in the fourth century A.D. that this term begins to be restricted to the 'Castle of Sion,' or Upper City on the South-west, and since that period it has never had any other signification.

In the time of David and Solomon the Upper City or Castle and the Lower City or Millo (2 Sam. v. 9; 1 Kings ix. 24) appear both to have existed; and outside Jerusalem was the threshing floor of Araunah, to which the Ark was borne up out of the City of David (1 Kings viii. 1) when the Temple was built. It is natural that a suburb should have grown up on Ophel after the building of the Temple, and that it should

have been inhabited by the Nethenim (Neh. iii. 26) or Temple servants. This suburb was walled in by later Kings, who connected the City and Temple by walls (2 Chron. xxvi. 9; xxvii. 3; xxxiii. 14), and the Ophel spur became the Royal quarter, where was the 'Field of Burial of the Kings,' the 'Royal Garden' (2 Chron. xxvi. 23; Neh. iii. 15; 2 Kings xxi. 26; Jer. xxxix. 4), and the Royal Palace near the Temple (2 Kings, xi. 16). Whether all the Kings were here buried in the 'City of David,' or only the later ones not thought worthy to be laid with David and Solomon, is still a disputed point. The 'Sepulchres of David' (Neh. iii. 16) seem certainly to have been to the East on Ophel, but this statement occurs only in a later book, and may refer to the royal family generally, and David lived in the Upper City. It is certain that a very ancient Jewish tomb exists close to the modern site of the Holy Sepulchre, inside Jerusalem, which agrees in a remarkable manner with the description (7 Ant. xv. 3; 16 Ant. vii. 1) of David's Sepulchre, which could be entered without the grave itself being discovered; for in this tomb the actual graves are sunk beneath the floor. It is also stated in the Talmud (Tosiphta Baba Bathra, i.) that there was only one tomb inside Jerusalem besides that of the Kings, and no other ancient sepulchre is known within the modern city. If, however, the 'Field of Burial' of the Kings, which must have been not far from Siloam, could be discovered by excavation, this question might be set at rest; and it is even possible that very important discoveries may await us in such sepulchres; but it is known that David's sepulchre was robbed of treasure according to tradition (13 Ant. viii. 4), and a second violation attempted later (16 Ant. vii. 1), and the site was well known as late as 20 A.D. (Acts ii. 29), so that it could not then have been lost or covered over, whatever may have happened later. The tradition of the Middle Ages placed this tomb on Sion, where however no such monument has been found though the rock is everywhere close on the surface.

Before quitting this period it should be noticed that one argument in favour of the Ophel spur having been the earliest quarter of Jerusalem, or Jebus, has been drawn from its proxi-



mity to the only natural water supply in the Kedron gorge—the spring of Gihon or Enrogel. The former term signifies a fountain ‘bursting forth,’ as the water still does burst out from an underground cave with a narrow opening acting as a natural syphon.\* The latter name may mean ‘Spring of the Water Channel,’ and refer to the Siloam aqueduct. The only objection to this view lies in the term En Rogel being used in a topographical chapter of the Book of Joshua, whereas the Siloam aqueduct was made by Hezekiah. Critical writers have supposed that the topographical chapters in the Book of Joshua are later additions to the narrative—a contention supported by the very meagre account of the Samaritan topography. En Rogel is however usually translated ‘Spring of the Fuller.’

That this fountain was the only natural spring of Jerusalem is fairly certain, but it does not seem to have ever been sufficient to supply the city, which depended on aqueducts and large rock hewn tanks for its water. Such a tank exists immediately North of the Upper City. It is now called the Patriarch’s Pool, and is generally regarded as being the Pool Amygdalon (*i.e.*, ‘of the great tower,’) noticed by Josephus, and fed by an aqueduct from the West. It is quite possible that this site is noticed in the Bible (Isaiah xxxvi. 2) as the ‘conduit of the Upper Pool,’ where the Assyrians sat down before Jerusalem; for the site of the Assyrian Camp was shewn in later times (5 Wars, xii. 2) not far to the North of

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\* The site of Bethesda (John v. 2) is uncertain. In the fourth century it was shewn at the ‘Twin Pools’ north of Antonia: in the twelfth at the Piscina Interior, further to the north-east and west of St. Anne: since which it has been placed at the Birket Israil east of the first site. The name probably means ‘House of the Stream,’ and the place was by the Sheep Market, or gate, or place (*Probatike*). The gathering place where the flocks drank may be understood, which is now the Virgin’s Spring. The ‘troubling of the waters’ may be compared with the sudden rush which occurs at intervals in the Virgin’s Spring. The phrase as to the angel troubling the waters (verse 4) is absent from the four oldest MSS. of the Gospel, and a natural troubling may therefore be understood. The Jews still bathe in the Virgin’s Pool to cure rheumatism, and wait till the troubling of the water occurs before they plunge in.

this reservoir. It is possible that this tank existed from the earliest times, and supplied the Jebusites with water. It is inconceivable that the 'Castle of Sion' could have stood on the small spur, commanded by higher ground on all sides, and if we suppose that the citadel was on the site of the later Antonia, the difficulty arises that a considerable space, not in the City of David, and occupied by Araunah's threshing floor, separated the Ophel suburb from the 'Castle.'\*

In the account of the building of Solomon's Temple we do not hear that any Jebusite town or village was cleared to make room for the sanctuary. We gather that there was an open space, outside the City of David, occupied as a threshing floor such as are found, outside and never within, the Palestine villages. The military and historical objections to the theory that the Eastern hill was the first to be occupied appear to be very strong; and the argument from water-supply is weak: for ancient sites, such as those of Shiloh, Keilah, etc., are often at a considerable distance from the nearest spring, while the artificial supply from reservoirs inside the walls was more certain in times of siege. A shaft from the surface of the Ophel hill was cut to the back of the cave in which the Gihon spring welled up, evidently to obtain access from within the walls; but it is not known when this was done, and it may be part of the water-works of King Hezekiah. There is, however, no part of Jerusalem on which it is more desirable that excavations should be extensively carried out than that now only occupied by terraces and fig gardens on the Ophel spur South of the Temple.

Of the extent of the Courts which surrounded Solomon's Temple nothing is known. Herod greatly enlarged the area, and took away the ancient foundations (15 Ant. xi. 3,) and no masonry that can be regarded as being as old as Solomon's time is now known to exist. The Holy House itself occupied

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\* The Baris or Antonia was built by Hyrcanus (18 Ant. iv. 3; 1 Wars, iii. 3.) It was divided from Bezetha by a deep ditch (5 Wars, iv. 2), and Bezetha was the 'New City,' so that this quarter of Jerusalem seems to be later rather than very early.

the same site in all ages, but it is only of Herod's enclosure that any remains are now found.

Nehemiah's restoration of the city walls was nothing more than a rebuilding on the old foundations, and there was apparently no change in the line of fortifications. Jerusalem had only one wall at this time, and there is very little difference of opinion as to the general position of these ramparts. They ran Westwards from the Temple along the line afterwards called the 'Second Wall,' to the North-west corner of the Upper City: the tower Hananeel (Neh. iii. 1,) appears to have occupied the site of the later Antonia, and is noticed (Zech. xiv. 10,) as the North-eastern angle of Jerusalem. The South-west angle has been determined by excavation, but the exact line by which the ravine above Siloam was crossed is at present unknown. Sir Charles Warren unearthed the mighty rampart on Ophel, which though now entirely covered with debris is standing to the great height of 74 feet, from the rock to the top course of large masonry of which it is built. He also found a great projecting tower, answering to that described (Neh. iii. 27,) as the 'Tower that lieth out;' and he traced the wall to its junction with the Haram at the present South-east angle. This discovery is the most important that has been made in elucidation of the topography, and the earlier theoretic plans, which drew the rampart further West, have consequently been abandoned. Josephus states (5 Wars, iv. 2,) that this rampart joined the Eastern cloister of the Temple, and this definite statement cannot be explained away, and naturally leads to the conclusion that the Eastern cloister must have coincided with the present East wall of the Haram. The discovery also shews us that very ancient remains may still lie hidden under the debris in other parts of the Ophel quarter.

The condition of Jerusalem at the time of the Great Siege, the area of Herod's Temple, and the site of Calvary, and of the Holy Sepulchre, are the next questions of importance to consider. In this examination we should now ascertain what is known of the existing remains, and should read the ancient accounts by the light of such discovery, rather than construct plans from these descriptions, and attempt to bend the facts to

the theories. Much that might have been otherwise understood, without the aid of exploration, has become untenable in consequence of the excavations.

Josephus describes three walls on the North side of Jerusalem, of which two were standing at the time of the Crucifixion, and the third was begun within thirty years later to enclose suburbs, which were then already in existence, and which may have spread beyond the old walls as early as the time of Herod the Great, or of his immediate successors. He also describes the three great towers at the N.W. corner of the Upper City, two of which are still standing. The 'Second Wall' was the old rampart, which appears to have been built by Solomon, and continued by later Kings, and restored by Nehemiah. The North wall of the Upper City, which ran through Jerusalem to the Temple, and divided the Southern and Northern quarters, seems probably to be that already noticed as built by Jonathan the Hasmonean. It is not described in the time of Nehemiah, and it became necessary when the Macedonian garrison was still in the Akra or Citadel within the town. Through its existence the Temple and the Upper City became two redoubts, which conquerors like Pompey and Titus were obliged to besiege in form, after the Lower City had been captured. There is no difference of opinion as to the line of this rampart, on its rocky scarps facing the deep broad valley to the North usually called the Tyropœon.

The knoll which culminates near the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre is joined to the hill of the Upper City by a narrow neck of high land, between the heads of the valleys. On this saddle the great Amygdalon pool is cut in the rock which is visible in its sides, and it is clear that the second wall must have run along this saddle, and could not have been built in the valley to the east, because commanding ground would then have existed immediately outside, which would be contrary to the practice of fortress builders in any age. West of the pool Amygdalon a line of wall was discovered, running north, which was partially excavated in 1886, and found to consist of the same large masonry discovered on Ophel, and visible in the foundations of the Temple and of the great tower

now called David's tower. It is the style of masonry which the Jews used in the time of the Hasmoneans and of Herod, ornamented with a shallow drafting in the Greek style, such as exists in the dated example at Tyrus in Gilead, where the priest Hyrcanus built his palace in 175 B.C. The wall so discovered, and which ought if possible to be further traced, occupies exactly the line laid down by Robinson for the 'second wall,' near its junction with the first; and it stands in the natural position for a rampart, on the highest part of the saddle. The pool Amygdalon appears to have been within the second wall, for it was not approached by the Romans until after they had taken and destroyed that rampart (5 Wars, xi. 4); and it is natural that so important a source of water supply should have been included within the fortifications of the ancient city. The wall discovered in 1886 may therefore be taken as a safe starting point in tracing the course of the second wall.

The second wall 'ran in a circle' (*κυκλοῦμενον*) enclosing the northern quarter and joining Antonia. The great trench which cut off the site of that fortress from the hill of Bezetha was outside the wall, and there is no dispute as to the point of junction. From a military point of view it is impossible to suppose that the high knoll of rock at the traditional site of Calvary can have been left outside the rampart to command the city. It must have been the site of a fortress or tower, either on or close to the wall, and the discovery made in 1886 thus seems to be fatal to the identity of the traditional site. But unfortunately this spot is in one of the most thickly built parts of the modern city, and our information as to the details of the older site is consequently imperfect. Until some fortunate chance allows of extensive excavation north of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, it will remain possible for those who retain a firm belief in the traditional site, to maintain that the second wall passed south of the church, although the rock pools shew clearly that the ground here falls away very rapidly into the valley, while north of the church there is a small plateau about 2480 feet above sea-level, the extent of which is determined at ten separate points.

This rounded knoll answers very well to the description of Akra by Josephus, who calls it 'gibbous,' in shape. Sir Charles Wilson draws the line of the second wall at this point so as to include the knoll in question, and in this respect his plan is in accord with all others recently published; but nothing short of excavation will lay the question at rest to the satisfaction of all.

There is no dispute as to the line of the eastern part of the third wall—that of Agrippa—on Bezetha, for all writers agree that it followed the same line now occupied by the north wall of the city, and that the present north-east angle coincides with that existing in the time of Titus. Some writers suppose that the whole course of the third wall coincided with that of the present north rampart, but there appear to be two objections to accepting such a line west of the Damascus gate. The first is its too great proximity to the second wall, and the second is the fact that Helena's tomb is described (20 Ant., iv. 3) as only three stadia from the city.\* The site of this tomb by general agreement is fixed at the monument popularly called the 'Tombs of the Kings,' but this is four stadia from the modern wall. The 'Women's Towers' (5 Wars, ii., 3) were an important point on this rampart, opposite the Tomb of Helena, near the great north road; and there exists still—a stadium outside the Damascus gate to the north-west—a sort of platform of rock with artificial scarps, west of the great north road. Quite recently remains of what appear to have been the foundations of a tower have been noticed at this spot, and there is some reason therefore to regard this site as representing the Women's Towers. When Dr. Robinson visited Jerusalem in 1838 it seems that the remains of the third wall were clearly visible (*Biblical Researches*, Vol. I., p. 315) at various points along the line running south-east

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\* The words used by Josephus (5 Wars, iv., 2), *καὶ δια σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν μηχανόμενον ἐκδύπτετο μὲν γωνίῳ πύργῳ*, may be rendered 'and across the caves of the Kings being extended it bent also at the corner tower,' which may be taken to shew that there were two bends in the wall, one being that which brought it south-east from the corner at the Women's Towers to the Royal Caves, which lie under the present wall.



from the present Russian Cathedral towards the first wall. These foundations of towers have now entirely disappeared in the progress of building outside Jerusalem, but Dr. Robinson gives measurements and angles to shew where they used to exist, extending north-north-west for a distance of 1400 feet from the present north-west corner of the city. Many ancient cisterns and marble tesserae were here found, which shew that this part of the site was formerly occupied by buildings of some kind. It is very desirable that excavations should be carried out west of the great north road, outside the Damascus gate, where various traces of ancient occupation have already been found, and where there is a considerable accumulation of soil above the rock.

As regards the site of Calvary it has now been very generally agreed, by those who feel that the traditional site stands in too central a position to answer to the New Testament requirements, that the most probable situation is the knoll outside the Damascus Gate, which the Jews point out as the ancient place of execution. Christ suffered 'without the gate' (Heb. xiii. 12) and 'nigh to the city' (John xix. 20), where was a garden (verse 41) such as Josephus describes North of Jerusalem (5 Wars, ii. 2) having in it a new tomb. The site of crucifixion was conspicuous from some distance (Mark xv. 40; Luke xxiii. 49) and there is no doubt that the traditional site of execution, on its high knoll with a natural amphitheatre of flat slopes to the West, is one peculiarly suited for a public spectacle. Since this view was advocated in 1879 (*Tent Work in Palestine*) on account of the tradition which was then for the first time published, and compared with the account in the Mishnah (Sanhedrim vi. 1-4) on which it is founded, and since the discovery was subsequently accepted by General Gordon, it has become widely popular in England and in America; and it has been pointed out that the same site was advocated by Otto Thenius in 1849, and Felix Howe in 1871; but these earlier writers knew nothing of the Jewish tradition connected with the spot, and their suggestions were therefore purely conjectural. It is always the case that any generally accepted discovery is afterwards found to have occurred to the minds

of writers who did not succeed in impressing their views on the public, and this is natural because, if a suggestion is acceptable to the general mind, it is certain to present itself independently to various minds, as has happened in so many cases of important contemporary discoveries by independent students.

But while there is general accord among critical writers on this subject, there is equal accord in the belief that the position of the Holy Sepulchre itself remains a matter of conjecture only. The 'Garden Tomb,' as it is called, which is cut in the cliff under the knoll of Calvary, is not a Jewish tomb. It was found in 1873 to be full of human bones to the roof, and when cleared out two Latin Patriarch's crosses, painted in red, were discovered on the East wall. The arrangements of the interior resemble those of the tombs in the Valley of Hinnom, which were the burial places of monks and nuns belonging to the Church of Sion. One of these bears the name of Thecla Augusta, in an inscription not earlier than 867 A.D. There is no reason to suppose that, in Palestine, the Byzantine or Norman Christians ever buried their dead in ancient disused tombs; and there are many cases in which rock cut tombs were certainly prepared especially for Christian burial. Inscriptions belonging to Byzantine tombs, not older than the 4th century A.D., have been discovered near the knoll now supposed to be that of Calvary, in one of which there is a distinct allusion to Constantine's Marturion of the Anastasis. There was also in the 12th century an important Hospice of the Templars, called the Asnerie, immediately South of the cliff, of which the mangers and walls were discovered, and recognised by the present writer, in 1873. It is fairly certain that this 'garden tomb,' with its Latin crosses and innumerable remains of bones, was used for the interment of pilgrims or others staying at the Hospice, and it has not the character of a Jewish tomb about the Christian era.

There are several well-known examples of Jewish tombs about the time of Christ at Jerusalem itself, and some of them bear inscriptions in the Hebrew character of the age. One of them, to the east of the Kedron, is now called the 'Tomb of

St. James,' but is inscribed over the portico with the names of Jewish priests of the Bene Hazir family. It has within tunnels or *Kokim* for the corpses, after the Jewish fashion. But the most famous example is the great cemetery of the Kings of Adiabene, who were converted to Judaism in the first century A.D., and buried at Jerusalem. In this sepulchre, which has several chambers, the Aramaic inscription of the sarcophagus of Queen Sarah (apparently Helena) was discovered by De Saulcy, with various remains including Roman coins of the period. This monument, popularly called the 'Tomb of the Kings,' adorned with a semi-Jewish, semi-Greek frieze over the porch, and fitted with a rolling stone before the door (as in the case of the Holy Sepulchre), is familiar to all travellers, and may be taken as an example of a Jewish tomb at the time of Christ. The chambers have *Kokim* or longitudinal tunnels, after the Jewish fashion, although it was constructed about 48 A.D. at earliest. The inmost chamber, which must have been latest, has, however, *loculi* at two sides, after the Greek fashion, which prevailed in Palestine from the second to the ninth centuries A.D. This marks the transition from the Jewish to the Greek style about the time of Christ.

The Holy Sepulchre itself seems to have been a 'new tomb' in the Greek fashion, otherwise it would have been impossible to describe the angels as seated at the head and foot of the grave (John xx. 12). It is remarkable that immediately west of the place of execution there is a Jewish rock-cut tomb, the only one yet found in this vicinity which presents the Jewish arrangement of *Kokim*, and that this has a second chamber in which there is a single *loculus* in the Greek style (see *Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine*, Jerusalem volume, p. 433, for the plan and sections). There can be no doubt that in this case a Jewish tomb, hewn about the time of Christ, has been discovered, and that it is the only one found in the locality. It was accordingly suggested by the present writer in 1881 that this might possibly be the real Holy Sepulchre. The tomb is now in possession of the Dominicans, and the suggestion was abandoned by those who agreed with General Gordon in pointing to the so-called 'Garden Tomb,' and who imagined

that a Latin Patriarch's cross might have been painted with the letters *Alpha* and *Omega* beneath and the monogram IC—XP above, as early as the Christian era. These crosses, commonly found with such inscriptions in the mediæval monasteries of Palestine, could not have been painted before the twelfth century, for the Greek cross is exclusively used before the Latin conquest of the Crusaders. Moreover, the cross is never used at all on monuments in the East before the establishment of Christianity by Constantine. The early Christian texts of the catacombs, and in Syria, have no crosses at all; but the advocates of the 'Garden Tomb' appear to have had little acquaintance with Christian Archæology, and to have known nothing of Byzantine epigraphy, since they attributed to the Christian era inscriptions written in a much later character.

Turning to the question of the site of the Temple, it is to be noted that the conditions under which the subject is studied have been revolutionised by the discoveries of Sir Charles Warren, so that arguments which had some weight when the site was less carefully examined must now be abandoned. The levels of the rock have been determined at 50 points within the present Haram or Sanctuary, and the sections drawn by Sir Charles Warren, and published in 1884, are reproduced by Sir Charles Wilson in his recent article. It is not disputed that the ridge gradually narrows towards the south, and that only in the central part of the Haram is there any rocky plateau near the surface. The surrounding walls rise on the slopes of steep valleys to east and west, and the interior consists of made earth, or is supported on extensive vaults. The largest of these, in the South-east angle, are reconstructions of the Byzantine period, but a few remains of much heavier and more ancient vaulting, capable of supporting the weight of the Temple cloisters, are found in existence, and the double and triple gateways, on the south wall, present their original lintels; and, in the case of the double gate, the original domes erected by Herod are standing supported by mighty pillars. It is also certain that the south wall of the Haram runs unbroken to the two present angles, and that the foundations belong to the

ancient Temple. It is undisputed that the west wall coincides with that of the time of Herod, and that the great bridge excavated by Sir Charles Warren is that described by Josephus as leading (from the Upper City) to the Royal Cloister. The position of Antonia is also settled, coinciding with the North-west corner of the Haram, where the present writer in 1874 found the remains of the buttressed walls of the Temple rising above the level of the interior.

There are various statements in Josephus which seem to shew that the Temple stood on the top of the plateau, and that the cloister walls coincided with those now standing. In one passage (8 Ant., iii., 9) he says that the ground was artificially made up 'to be on a level with the top of the mountain on which the Temple was built, and by this means the outmost Temple, which was exposed to the air, was even with the Temple itself.' In another passage (5 Wars, v., 1) we learn that 'at first the plain at the top was hardly sufficient for the Holy House and the Altar, for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice.' These statements naturally point to the situation of the Holy House itself on the highest part of the plateau south of Antonia, which is now occupied by the Dome of the Rock; and placed in such a position the ascending levels of the various courts naturally fit the rock, and agree with the present arrangement of a central platform reached by steps: in any other position the outer courts must be placed at least as high as the present rock surface, and the disappearance of substructures reaching up more than 20 feet at least above the present surface must be supposed, while the heavy walls of the Temple must have stood, either on made earth, or on foundations 30 to 90 feet in depth, of which we have no indications. The known levels make it impossible to escape from such conclusions, for the rock is visible over large areas all through the central and north-west part of the Haram, and under the Dome of the Rock, while near the west wall, and on the South-east and East, the rock is also proved to exist only at the base of the walls of the outer enclosure. It has thus come to be generally recognised, in France and in Germany, that the results of Sir Charles Warren's excavations

shew generally that Herod's Enclosure was co-extensive with the present Haram (except perhaps on the North East) and that the Temple itself must have occupied a position at or close to the present Dome of the Rock. So placed it also becomes possible to identify the Bath House, and the secret passage mentioned in the *Talmud* (Middoth i., 8) North of the Temple with existing rock cut souterrains, and to account for the four Western and two Southern gates of the outer enclosure, all of which still remain visible.

As regards the position of the cloisters, there is no dispute concerning the S.W. Angle or the West wall. Josephus states that the North and East cloisters joined at the Kedron Valley (20 Ant., ix., 7) and he says that the Ophel wall joined the East cloister (5 Wars, iv., 2) which stood in a deep valley (6 Wars, iii., 2). This description exactly applies to the present East wall of the enclosure, and Sir Charles Warren discovered the Ophel wall joining the East wall of the Haram, so that if the account by Josephus is at all to be trusted an argument is provided, by means of exploration, which is unanswerable, and which no one has attempted to answer.

The objection to this view, raised by the late Mr. Fergusson, whose theory has been adopted by various later writers in England, was one very admissible before excavations had been made. It is purely literary in character, and depends on the accuracy of Josephus in stating measurements, which cannot be considered a strong basis when we consider the unreliability of his statements of area in the cases of Caesarea and Samaria, and his contradictory estimates of distances and values. His text has been much corrupted by copyists, and however honest he may have been he cannot be regarded as other than a very loose writer, generally given to exaggeration, not only in his estimates of height, which are absurd, but also in his measurements of lengths, which (in the case of the walls of the city) are irreconcilable either with the facts or with other statements of his own. Josephus says that the Temple area was a furlong square, which is taken to mean about 600 feet either way, (15 Ant., xi., 3-5; 20 Ant., ix., 7), whereas the real area appears, even from his own account, to



have been roughly, 1000 feet square. It cannot be matter of surprise that, writing in Italy, his estimate should be incorrect. It is irreconcilable with the more exact and detailed account in the Mishnah (Middoth, ii., 1\*), written perhaps only half a century later, and written in Palestine while the ruins of the Temple were still visible.

Critical writers in the present century are not wont to attach much importance to Oriental statements regarding numbers, distances, heights, or areas; and rightly so, because the ordinary Oriental in all ages has been notoriously inexact. Their buildings are very rarely accurately squared, and this is the case also in the Haram which has only one right angle. While admitting the honesty and, generally, the trustworthiness of Josephus, we can place no reliance on his figures, which are inexact and contradictory; and it is perhaps not too much to say that in estimating the area of the Temple he has been shewn by the explorers to have been wrong.

In the year 70 A.D. Jerusalem was levelled to the ground. Only the foundations of the Temple ramparts, and of the great towers in the Upper City, were left, with a pinnacle of masonry at the South-east angle of the Haram. About 135 A.D. the city was rebuilt by Hadrian, but the area of its walls is not certainly known, since no description exists. There are remains on the Ophel ridge which may be ascribed to this period, to which also probably belongs the triumphal arch now called the Ecce Homo. An inscription by Hadrian is built upside down into the South wall of the Haram, and the

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\* The passage in Middoth (ii., 1) is as follows:—'The mountain of the House was 500 cubits (i.e., about 700 feet) square. The largest space was on the South, the second on the East, the third on the North, and the last Westwards.' The Courts, within which no Gentile might approach, occupied 135 cubits North and South, by 332 East and West, according to this account, of which space only 11 cubits was behind the sanctuary, which must consequently have been nearer the West than the East cloister. The whole description is worked out in detail in Conder's *Handbook to the Bible* (part ii., chapter 8), and the actual levels compared with those given in the Mishnah, and shewn to correspond. These levels are taken from the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, from the plans of Sir C. Warren and from additional observations by the author.

head of his statue (erected on the site of the Temple and still standing in 332 A.D.) was found by a peasant among the stones of the highroad North of Jerusalem. In the fourth century the South wall of the city seems, like the modern wall, to have excluded a part of the hill of the Upper City, and it is conjectured that this was the line of Hadrian's wall, but until further excavations have been made on the South nothing definite can be said on the subject. It was not till after the establishment of Christianity that Jerusalem again became a sacred city, and a centre where active building operations, of which remains still exist, were undertaken.

Constantine erected a splendid basilica on the supposed sites of the Holy Sepulchre and of Calvary. It is generally agreed that the sites in question were the same which have ever since been shewn, but the question remains whether they were correctly, or even honestly, determined. No one who is acquainted with the Byzantine history of this age is likely to doubt that credulity, fanaticism, and fraud, are its distinguishing characteristics. We have the testimony of Gregory, Jerome, and Chrysostom, who were all alike disgusted by the intrigues, the venality, and the unscrupulous mendacity of the Greek bishops, whom they denounce. Constantine himself was a politician rather than a devout believer: his cruelty is well known; and his indifference to disputes on religious matters which were regarded by the bishops as of fundamental importance. The chronicler states that a temple of Venus was destroyed by Constantine's orders (*Vita Constant*, iii. 25-8), and that the Holy Tomb was most unexpectedly found by the Patriarch underneath the mound; but Eusebius does not tell us by what means it was recognised, and the discovery of the Cross is not noticed until twenty years later. It is not very probable that the subject was examined by the Patriarch with the critical coldness of a modern antiquary, and it is conceivable that the site sacred to the Pagans was reconsecrated, just as Pagan sites were reconsecrated to Christian worship by the missionaries of Gregory the Great. It is at least certain, from what Jerome tells us, that the cave manger at Bethlehem was found by Helena to be a chapel in which the mysteries of

Adonis were celebrated, before it was reconsecrated as the site of the Nativity, over which Constantine erected the earliest known orthodox church. There is no pretence on the part of contemporary writers that any ancient Christian tradition pointed out the lost site of the Holy Sepulchre, over which as they tell us a mound had been heaped up, supporting a Pagan temple. It is more probable that they relied on visions and miracles, such as the later chroniclers record to have guided the pious Helena in the discovery of the sacred sites.

The new basilica became the centre of worship, and the Temple site remained in ruins as described by the earlier pilgrims. The statues of Hadrian still stood on the site of the Temple, where the Jews came annually to anoint the 'Pierced Stone' on the Temple hill. This, in the opinion of most modern writers, was the Sakhrah or sacred rock, marking the site of the Holy House, and pierced by a curious shaft leading through the roof of the cave beneath. It was not until the sixth century that building operations on the Temple site were recommenced by Justinian, for Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple failed disastrously. Justinian erected a great Basilica of St. Mary in the Haram, and a Church of St. Sophia on the supposed site of the Prætorium, which all Christian writers of the age agree in placing at Antonia. The remains of a small church still exist here, within the precincts of the Turkish barracks. Professor Sepp has proposed to attribute to Justinian the first erection of a building over the Sakhrah—on account of the Byzantine character of the pillars, which however are evidently taken from other buildings, hardly two being alike—but the view that this was the St. Sophia of the Prætorium is untenable, since the site of the Prætorium was always—and correctly—shewn at Antonia. As regards the great Basilica of Mary there is dispute about the exact site, but it is certain that the pillars of the present Aksa mosque are Byzantine in character, and belong to about the sixth century A.D. The view taken by De Vogüé and Professor Hayter Lewis identifies this building with the Mary Church, and the passage beneath seems to correspond to the vaults described by Procopius.

After Omar's Conquest a mosque was erected by that Khalif on the Temple Hill. Arculph describes it as a large square building, rudely constructed of wood on ancient ruins. According to Hishâm ibn 'Ammân (as quoted in an Arab work of the 15th century by Jemâl ed Din) this mosque was erected East of the Sakbrah, and no remains of this temporary building exist. Moslem tradition now places it in a chamber leading Eastwards out of the Aksa mosque on the South Wall, but a careful examination of this building, and of its ornate pillars, shews that it is the work of the Templars in the 12th century. Popularly the Dome of the Rock is called the 'Mosque of Omar,' but this is doubly wrong, because it is not a mosque at all, and because it was not erected by Omar.

Arab historians all agree in attributing the Dome of the Rock to the Damascus Khalif, 'Abd el Melek, in 688 A.D. The great Kufic inscription on the arcade gives the date 72 A.H., or 688 A.D. for the building, within the reign of the Khalif in question; but the outer gates and the roof of the outer wall bear dates corresponding to 831 A.D., and 913 A.D., in the reign of El Mamûn, and later. The Dome of the Chain is said to have been the model for the Dome of the Rock, which would apply if the outer octagonal wall be regarded as added in the 9th century. The style of the building generally resembles that of the early Arabs, who employed Greek and Persian architects. There is nothing classic in its structure or in its details, with exception of the pillars, which have been torn from some earlier Christian building or buildings, and fitted to their present places by supplying caps and pedestals of varying heights. The general effect of the architecture resembles that of the Sassanian period in Persia, and the wooden beams between the pillars resemble those of the old mosque of Amru in Cairo. There is therefore no reason to dispute the statements contained in the inscriptions and in Arab accounts of the building.

The next great building period in Jerusalem was that of the Crusades, when some twenty churches were erected within the walls. The chapels on the traditional sites of Calvary and of the Holy Sepulchre were included in a splendid Norman

Cathedral, which remains almost unchanged to the present time. To its South the Hospital of the Knights of St. John spreads over a large area of the city. The Dome of the Rock became the *Templum Domini*, and the Aksa mosque was the *Palatium Salomonis* given to the Templars. The detailed account of Jerusalem, written about 1187 after Saladin's conquest, gives us so minute a description as to leave no doubt about the situation of the public buildings, or of the streets and gates. This account has been translated with notes by the present writer, for the Palestine Pilgrim Texts Society, and it is perhaps the most important of all the topographical tracts which describe Jerusalem in the twelfth century. So complete is our information that no controversial questions have arisen in connection with mediæval Jerusalem, and the majority of the buildings then erected remain indeed, almost unchanged in character, at the present time.

The Crusaders, however, and Marino Sanuto in the fourteenth century, in his great work on Palestine topography, wrought havoc with the traditional sites, sometimes through ignorance, and yet oftener in order to discredit their enemies the Greek clergy, with whom they were constantly at feud. They transported the site of the Martyrdom of St. Stephen from its old locality north of Jerusalem—near the knoll of execution—to the gate on the East, now called Gate of St. Stephen by Christians. They invented the *Templum Domini* as distinct from the *Templum Salomonis*. They first shewed the Tomb of David South of the city, and are responsible for supposed sites of the Mount of Offence (more correctly 'of unctions') and the Hill of Evil Counsel. They placed Gihon at a pool which was built by the Germans, West of the city, in the latter half of the twelfth century, and supposed two Gihons, Upper and Lower, to have been noticed in the Bible. They transported En Rogel from its true site to the Well of Joab further south. They added a new site for Gethsemane to that already shewn, and they built new churches at sacred spots, which had not previously been known. The influence of their traditions survived until Robinson began to study Jerusalem critically, and it still colours the views and beliefs of many writers, who

are not always aware of the late and conflicting character of these traditions, or of the steady growth of sacred places since the fourth century. When the Bordeaux Pilgrim visited Jerusalem in 332 A.D. he was not shown the Holy Cross, which pilgrims begin to notice a quarter of a century later. The Dome of the Rock, which William of Tyre attributes to Omar, was believed later to be the actual Temple in which Christ was presented. The Stone of Jacob from Bethel was supposed to be the Sakhrāh itself, transported to Jerusalem. The Bordeaux Pilgrim is ill informed as to Scripture, and supposed that the transfiguration occurred on Olivet instead of in Galilee. The ignorance of the pilgrims and of the priests, their superstition and scandalous conduct, were sources of grief to Gregory of Nazianzen. In the 4th century the rock struck by Moses in Horeb was shewn in Moab, and the country of Job was transported from near Petra (where Jerome correctly places it) to Bashan. It is impossible therefore to feel any great confidence even in the earlier Byzantine traditions, and still less in those of the age of the crusaders.

In conclusion, we may inquire briefly into the future of exploration at Jerusalem, now that the excavations have been resumed. It is satisfactory to see that the controversial points remaining are few, and often of very secondary importance; but it is probable that many important remains still exist beneath the debris, which would be of the highest historical interest.

Within the area of the Temple enclosure it is hopeless to expect that leave to excavate can be obtained from the Sultan. We should resent excavations in our cathedrals quite as much as do Moslems in their mosques. If it were possible to remove the flagging of the platform on which the Dome of the Rock now stands, or to open the archway in its eastern retaining wall, over which a mound of earth was heaped in 1881, when the present writer attempted to get leave for this exploration, we might very probably find the foundations of the Temple courts and steps beneath. The 'Well of Souls' under the Sakhrāh is a cave which has never been seen by any one now living, and which is described by no ancient



writer. It may perhaps be of little importance, but the mystery excites curiosity.

Within the city excavation is only possible immediately west of Antonia, where there is an unoccupied area, or in the western part of the Hospital of St. John, which still lies beneath an accumulation of rubbish twenty feet deep. In all other parts houses and monasteries cover the ground. Outside, on the north, further examination of the ground west of the Damascus gate is desirable, but on the south there is greater possibility of work. The slopes of Zion are covered with terraced orchards, which certainly overlies the remains of the ancient city, and the walls should be traced along the south brow of this hill. On Ophel we know that a mighty rampart 75 feet high lies completely buried, and here we may expect many valuable discoveries in the future. It is impossible to conjecture what is here concealed, and inscriptions of the early times of Solomon and Hezekiah might very probably be recovered, with perhaps archives of the early palace, and the 'Field of Burial of the Kings.' Such discoveries would be more valuable than any settlement of such questions as the exact place at which the words 'Lower City' or 'City of David' should be written on the map. Controversies of this nature are never likely to be settled, and generally are forgotten when there is no means of reaching a definite conclusion. The most important of such controversies—because it divides the Christian Churches—is that of the site of the Holy Sepulchre, but even the discovery of the whole course of the second wall would probably not convince those who believe in the traditional site, any more than the recovery of the Ophel rampart has convinced those few writers who prefer one particular statement of Josephus to others by the same author which conflict with it, and to the results of painful excavation round the walls of the Temple. It is only the student who stands uncommitted to theory who can in the future be expected to receive as final the verdict of the spade.

C. R. CONDER.

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## ART. VII.—THE ORIGIN OF OUR CIVILISATION.

1. *Der babylonische Ursprung die ägyptischen Kultur.* Von Dr. FRITZ HOMMEL. Munchen : 1892.
2. *The Dawn of Astronomy.* By J. NORMAN LOCKYER, F.R.S. London : 1894.
3. *The Western Origin of Chinese Civilisation.* By TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE. London : 1894.
4. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.* London : 1892, etc.
5. *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists.* London : 1893.
6. *The 'Higher Criticism' and the Verdict of the Monuments.* By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. London (S. P. C. K.) : 1894.

NO one, I suppose, is inclined to dispute that our civilisation is derived through the Roman Empire, and, at only one remove, from Greece. 'We are all Greeks,' said Shelley, 'our laws, our literature, our religion, our art, have their roots in Greece.' If we ask from whom the Greeks received their civilisation, we are told that it came to them from the Phœnicians and the Egyptians. Pushing our enquiries still further, we find that the Phœnicians got theirs certainly from Mesopotamia,\* and, if language be any guide, from the northern region of it called Assyria. On the other side of Asia, again, in the 'Middle Kingdom,' which is just now exciting a good deal of attention,

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\* To save confusing changes of name, I have used the word Mesopotamia throughout to denote not only the Roman province of that name, but also the kingdoms on either side of the Tigris and Euphrates formerly known as Assyria and Babylonia. Of these, Babylonia is supposed to have been first inhabited by a race sometimes called the Accadian, although it is now more properly styled the Sumerian, from the name of its chief province, Sumer (the Biblical Shinar). But with this was mingled, at a very early date, a large admixture of Semitic blood. Assyria, originally a colony from Babylonia, contained an even larger Semitic population than the mother kingdom.

we find an apparently indigenous civilisation perfectly unknown to any of the nations just mentioned, and extending back in an unbroken line to the third millenium before Christ. But beyond this, we have not until now been able to go. Only a few years back, Dr. Sayce in his excellent *Introduction to Herodotus*, summed up the question thus:—‘The civilisations of the ancient world—of Egypt, of China, and of Babylonia—were all the creations of great rivers. Every attempt hitherto made to discover a primitive connection between them has failed.’

This view, however, can hardly be longer maintained. The decipherment of the celebrated Telel-Amarna tablets (an early notice of which by Major Conder appeared in this Review\*) helped to convince most Orientalists that the importance of the Mesopotamian kingdoms in the world’s history had long been greatly underrated. Since then, some of the best equipped students of the cuneiform texts have devoted themselves almost exclusively to the relationship of the Mesopotamian civilisation with that of Egypt and China, until at length success appears to have crowned their efforts. The volumes before us show that a great step has been made towards the solution of the problem—whence came our civilisation? Even though we are still unable to say where the Mesopotamian culture found its roots, we can safely pronounce it ‘the mother of all the cultures of antiquity.’

To take first the case of Egypt:—The mode by which Professor Hommel proceeds to prove his contention that its culture was derived from Mesopotamia is, I suppose, the only one possible. The civilisations of the ancient world all resemble each other in one particular. Unlike those of modern times, they were the property not of the multitude, but of a class, and in both Mesopotamia and Egypt this class was the priesthood. The invention of writing, the power of taking observations of the heavenly bodies, the fixing of the calendar, and the principles which underlie the construction of buildings, were all in the hands of the priests. As a consequence, the whole of the sciences were so mixed up with the national religion that their

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\* The *Scottish Review* for April, 1891.

separation from it was impossible. If, therefore, we succeed in proving that any great part of the religious system of one country was derived from the other, we are justified in concluding that the borrowers received with it a large measure of the priestly sciences as well.

Now, the teaching of the Mesopotamian priests as to the origin of the gods and the world was as follows:—In the beginning, said they, was one dark expanse of waters from which by some imperfectly explained means,\* the earth and the abodes of the gods gradually emerged. The upper or celestial part of this encircling water was personified by them under the names of *Nun*, *Anum*, or *Anna*, the father of the gods, to whom the Semites when admitted to share in the civilisation of their predecessors gave the name of *Anu*. From him either alone or (as Dr. Hommel thinks) with the aid of a consort, *Anunit*, sprang *Gun-lilla*, *Mul-lilla*, or *En-lilla*,† the god of the atmosphere, whose realm occupied the space lying between the Celestial Ocean or ‘Heaven of Anu’ and the earth. He in his turn produced with the aid of a goddess called *Ba’u*, who was but another feminine personification of the primordial ocean, *Gun-ki*, *En-ki*, or *Ea*, the lord of the earth and of the waters under the earth, who presided over the remaining realm of the universe. In *Anna* and *Ea*, the first and third persons of this triad, we may see the ‘Spirit of Heaven’ and the ‘Spirit of Earth’ so frequently invoked in the magical texts of which I gave some account in a former article,‡ and which offer perhaps the oldest specimens of literature extant; while *En-lilla* was probably a later importa-

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\* T. G. Pinches’ *New Version of the Creation Story*, J.R.A.S., n.s., XXIII., (1891), p. 395. The world is there said to have been created ‘when within the sea there was a stream.’ In one of the numerous Orphic cosmogonies, this ‘stream’ is further described as a whirlpool, by which the component parts of the world before dispersed through the primordial ocean, were brought together.

† Called by the Semites *Bel*, or as Dr. Sayce distinguishes him, *Bel of Nipur*. He was a god earlier than, and distinct from, the *Bel-Merodach* mentioned later. The alternative names given in the text correspond to the varying dialects of the inscriptions.

‡ The *Scottish Review* for January, 1893.

tion, and perhaps not of Sumerian origin. Yet all three gods seem to have early faded away from the memory of the common people, and to have been supplanted by deities known, in accordance with the invariable rule of polytheism, as their descendants. Notwithstanding this, an exact parallel to the first triad of the Mesopotamians occurs in the Egyptian Pantheon, wherein *Nun* represents the watery chaos whence sprang all the gods, *Shu*, his son, the god of the atmosphere, and *Seb*, the son of *Shu*, the god of the earth. Few pictorial 'documents' of Egyptian mythology are so plainly intelligible as the group wherein *Nut*, or *Nu'it* (cf. Anunit) the feminine counterpart of *Nun*, stretches her star-spangled body in the form of an arch over the god of the atmosphere, who in his turn bestrides the recumbent form of the earth-god.\* But if the parallel were close in the case of the metaphorical abstractions which such gods eventually became, how much more strict was it with those more real and visible divinities, who received in Mesopotamia as in Egypt the daily adoration of the multitude. In Mesopotamia, *Girri-Dugga* or *Mirri-Dugga*, better known to us perhaps under his later Semitic name of Merodach, was the son of the earth-god *Ea*,† as, in Egypt, Osiris was the son of the earth-god *Seb*. But Merodach had a double personality: in one character he was *Silik-Mulu-dug*, 'the hero who does good to man,' the Bel or Baal of Scripture, and the slayer of the dragon Tiamat; in the other, he was Samas, the visible sun, the creator and ruler of our universe. In both characters the Egyptian divinity was his exact counterpart:—Osiris was called *Unnefer*, 'the Good One,' the slayer of the serpent Apep, while in another aspect he was *Râ*, the creator and preserver of the world, of whom the *Ritual* says that, 'Osiris findeth the soul of *Râ* and embraceth it, and the two become one.'‡ Both Merodach and Osiris have the bull as their symbol, and each has as his spouse a sister called *Istar* in Mesopotamia, and *Isit*, *Is't*, or *Isis* in Egypt.

\* The best delineation of this group that I have yet seen is in M. Amelineau's *Resumé de l'Histoire de l'Égypte*, (Paris, 1894) p. 46.

† The wife of *Ea* and mother of Merodach was *Damgal-nunna* or *Damkina*.

‡ *Book of the Dead*, c. XVII.

Now it may be said with some show of reason, that the myths relating to these cosmic deities are tolerably obvious, and might occur independently to many peoples on their emerging from the stage of religion known as Fetichism. But how can we account on this hypothesis for an absolute identity of names? Not only does Dr. Hommel, as has been said, find in the names Anunit and Nut, Istar and Isis, a complete literal (or rather syllabic) correspondence, but he shows with much skill that the Egyptian Seb finds its equivalent in *Sibba*, a late Sumerian form of one of the names of Ea, while '*Inpo* (called by the Greeks Anubis) the Egyptian Hermes, is but a transposed form of the Mesopotamian *Nabu* or *Nebo*, and *Chonsu* the Egyptian moon-god represents with hardly any change of name, *Gun-zu* or *En-zu*, the corresponding deity in the Mesopotamian pantheon. As to Merodach and Osiris not only representing the same idea, but being absolutely the same god, our English savant, Mr. Ball, put this beyond doubt (as Dr. Hommel generously acknowledges) some years before the publication of Dr. Hommel's discoveries. For in 1890 he drew attention to the fact that while the name of Osiris is meaningless in Egyptian, *Asaru* or *Asari* is itself a title of Merodach, and the ideogram by which the latter was indicated before the cuneiform script became cursive, was composed of precisely the same signs as the Egyptian hieroglyph for Osiris, namely, a stool and an eye.\* After this, I think most unprejudiced people will be content to admit the essential identity of the divine constitutions of Mesopotamia and Egypt, and will not need to follow the illustrious Munich professor through his identifications (sometimes more ingenious than convincing) of the name of Ea's holy city Eridu with that of the Egyptian On, of the *Aralu* or Sumerian realm of the dead with the *Ialu* or fields wherein the Egyptians hoped to labour beyond the tomb, and of the Sumerian prototype of Kronos—who really seem to have been invented to be the plague of mythologists—with an equally Protean divinity from the banks of the Nile.

The mention of ideograms, however, brings us naturally to the art of writing. Some years ago, it would have been considered

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\* *The New Accadian*, Proc. S.B.A. XII. (1890), p. 401 sq.



absurd to suggest that any connection was possible between the cuneiform characters in which all the then known Mesopotamian texts were written and the Egyptian hieroglyphs. But now the negative is by no means so clear. The excavations of M. de Sarzec at Tel-Loh have given to the world inscriptions of a dynasty of priest-kings which go back to an earlier date than 4000 B.C. Among them we find some in a script not yet cuneiform, but composed of characters having a more or less obvious connection with the ideas that they are intended to represent. We are therefore enabled to say that there was a date when the Sumerian writing was, like the Egyptian, hieroglyphic, or to use a better phrase, pictorial. And from among the ideographic characters of the Tel-Loh inscriptions—necessarily few in number from the scanty extent of the inscriptions themselves—Dr. Hommel has been able to pick out a list of upwards of thirty that bear a more or less convincing likeness to well-known hieroglyphs in common use in Egypt. It may therefore be possible at some future day to show by unanswerable arguments that the Egyptians got their writing as well as their gods from Mesopotamia. For, that the converse could occur, is negatived by the evidence of the Sumerian ideograms themselves. In the words of a scholar who has studied them with great thoroughness, they show that they were invented by a people living in ‘a more northern and mountainous country than’ Mesopotamia. ‘The signs for mountain and country are synonymous . . . . the lion, tiger, and the jackal were unknown, but the bear and the wolf were common animals . . . . the ideogram for camel denotes an animal with two humps, i.e., the species of Upper Asia, as distinct from the Arabian species. In the *flora* we find the pine, but not the palm or the vine, while the house or dwelling was a cave.’\* Not one of these signs could have been invented in Egypt; on the other hand, they all agree perfectly with the theory that they were first used in the mountains of Elam or Susiana to the east of the Tigris, from which country the non-Semitic inhabitants of Sumer are said to have come.

With regard to Egyptian astronomy, again, we might quote

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\* W. St. C. Boscawen, *British Museum Lectures* (London, 1886), p. 8.

the evidence of Bêrôssos\* (a writer who flourished in the age of Alexander the Great), that the Egyptians themselves admitted it to be derived from the Mesopotamian. This is, indeed, *primâ facie* probable, because the Sumerian calendar can be shown to have been founded not later than 6000 B.C.,† while Egyptian civilisation is claimed to have begun with the reign of Menes, a date which fluctuates between the 5702 B.C. of Boeckh and the 3623 B.C. of Bunsen.‡ Moreover, we find the Egyptians dividing like the Mesopotamians their year into 360 days, and their Zodiac into 36 Planetary Stations or Decans of 10 degrees each—a mode of reckoning obvious enough when connected with the sexagesimal system of the Mesopotamians, but ill-adapted to the Egyptian method of computation. The order, also, in which the planets were set, viz : the Sun, the Moon, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Saturn, and Venus is the same in a cuneiform text supposed to have been inscribed in the reign of Sargon of Accad (*circa* 3800 B.C.), and in an Egyptian monument of the XIXth Dynasty (1500-1300 B.C.) But the greatest proof of all hangs on a discovery obtained through a science a good deal more exact and a good deal less subject to fluctuations of opinion than archæology is like to be for some time.

The discovery to which I allude is the result of investigations which Professor Norman Lockyer has carried on during the last three years into the orientation of temple-sites in Mesopotamia and Egypt. The idea with which he began them, as he tells us in his newly published work, originated with Professor Nissen, whose labours he has continued and extended. The conclusions to which they have brought him can be given almost in his own words:—There came (he thinks) into Egypt about the year 5400 B.C., ‘A swarm or swarms from the N.E. One certainly comes by the Red Sea, and founds Temples at Redisieh and Denderah; another may have come over the Isthmus and founded Anum. They bring the worship of Anu. . . . These people might have come either from North Babylonia, or

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\* Josephus Ant. I., VIII. 2.

† Miss Plunket, *The Accadian Calendar*, Proc. cit., XIV. (1892), p. 117.

‡ 5000 B.C. is the date suggested by Mariette and most generally adopted.

other swarms of the same race may have invaded North Babylonia at the same time.' And in the age of the Pyramids (*circa* 4200-3700 B.C.) he thinks these invaders were followed by 'Another swarm from the N.E., certainly from Babylonia this time, and apparently by the Isthmus only . . . they no longer bring Anu alone. There is a Spring Equinox Sun-god.'

Now it is plain that we have here a theory which, if it is borne out by the evidence, gets rid of an obstacle which every one must feel in dealing with Dr. Hommel's very skilfully constructed argument. Dr. Hommel expressly states that his sheet-anchor is the practical identity of the Mesopotamian and Egyptian pantheons, and although it seems to me that he has abundantly established that point, I am by no means so sure that his facts taken by themselves are strong enough to prove that the Egyptians borrowed their religious system from Mesopotamia rather than the Mesopotamians theirs from Egypt. It is quite true that the points brought out as to the similarity of scripts and calendars all go in this direction, but they yet seem to me to amount to less than what the Canonists would call a 'full' proof. If, then, Mr. Lockyer can establish an absolute importation of worships from Babylonia into Egypt within historic times, he will have supplied a very important link missing from the chain of Dr. Hommel's evidence. We must therefore examine with some closeness the facts brought out by Mr. Lockyer's investigations.

The net result of these appears to be that all the Egyptian temples raised in honour of the sun or of any particular star were so built that the light from the object of their veneration would at one particular moment in the year (and at that time only) flash through a narrowing series of pylons or doors until it illuminated the *adytum* or innermost sanctuary. That this was done partly for the purpose of ritual, and even of imposture, Mr. Lockyer offers some proofs. But he considers that its principal reason was the accurate observation of the sun or star on the horizon. This would enable the priests to ascertain the exact length of the solar year, and thus to correct the errors in the vague year in use among the common people. In other words the temple was not only a telescope directed at one particular point of the heavens, but also a sun-dial on a gigantic scale, which afforded a true

measure of long periods of time. By calculations made on this hypothesis, Professor Lockyer arrives at the conclusion that the moment whereat the desired phenomenon would have taken place in the majority of Egyptian temples to the sun-god, was sunrise at the summer solstice. This is intimately connected with the most important event in the national life of Egypt, for it corresponds with the beginning of the inundation on which the fertility of the land depends. But among these solstitial temples, there are many others scattered about the north-east corner of Egypt, in which the wished-for illumination could never have taken place *at the solstice*. Owing to their east and west orientation, and for reasons which Mr. Lockyer gives at great length, but with a most liberal avoidance of technical language, the sun's light would strike into the sanctuaries of these last-named temples only at sunrise on the day of the spring equinox. This is a date of no particular importance for Egypt; but corresponds closely to the rise of the Tigris and Euphrates, whose waters, conducted through a series of canals, played in Mesopotamian agriculture the predominant part assigned in Egypt to the Nile. It is difficult therefore to resist the conclusion that the construction of these equinoctial temples was due to Mesopotamian builders, for whom alone their peculiar orientation would have any significance.

Mr. Lockyer's researches, however, take us further than this. By calculations based on the theory described, he is able to get approximately at the date when these temples were erected. For the change in the obliquity of the ecliptic causes the position of the sun at rising to vary to the extent of about a degree in 6000 years. At the end of a very long period of time, therefore, the temple would be useless for the purpose for which it was built. Moreover, the imperfect sphericity of the earth causes the apparent position of the stars to vary to a much greater extent. A temple oriented to a particular star—and many of the Egyptian temples were so oriented—would, in fact, become useless for the observation of that star after a period of 300 years.\* By com-

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\* Unless the orientation was changed by rebuilding. Mr. Lockyer has found some that were rebuilt with changed orientation, which confirms his theory.

binning the data thus obtained, Mr. Lockyer is able to announce the dates of 5400 B.C. and 4200-3100 B.C. respectively as the periods at which Babylonian astronomy came into Egypt. Both these dates are noteworthy. The first falls before the mean date ascribed to Menes, and at a time when a mysterious race or caste, known to Egyptian tradition as the 'Companions of Horus' (which might perhaps be construed to mean 'worshippers of the rising sun') were ruling the country. The other date corresponds with fair closeness to the time when the power must have been passing from the Sumerian kings of Mesopotamia, and the fusion between Sumerian and Semite was in progress which culminated in the glorious reign of Sargon of Accad. Is there not ground for supposing that some of the elder Mesopotamian nation, disgusted it may be at the accession to power of an inferior race, then pushed across the frontier into a weak and disunited Egypt, and succeeded in imposing the worship of their own fatherland upon their unwilling hosts?

However this may be, Mr. Lockyer's discovery seems to me quite conclusive on the main issue. It is of course possible, though hardly likely, that an equally well-equipped astronomer might be able to point out some destructive fallacy in Mr. Lockyer's calculations. But unless this can be done—and Mr. Lockyer exposes the whole of his method of working with great frankness and clearness—the result appears to prove Dr. Hommel's case up to the hilt. We know that the Egyptian pantheon corresponded in its most important particulars, and, in especial, in its names, with the Mesopotamian. We know that the early script of both countries contained many characters in common. And we now know that in the quarter of Egypt where immigrants from Western Asia would be most likely to settle, temples were built at a date long subsequent to the institution of the Mesopotamian calendar,\* these temples being closely connected with the most important date in that calendar. Can we any longer doubt that the religion, arts, and sciences—in a word, the civilisation—of Egypt, were wholly or in part borrowed from Mesopotamia?

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\* V. Note, *supra*.

It is rather appalling to turn from Dr. Hommel's concise and scholarly memoir, and Mr. Lockyer's clear book to the higgledy-piggledy that Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie has put forth. The author seems to have studied his subject, if not deeply, yet at any rate fully and discursively; but he has unfortunately failed to put his views upon it in a shape to be understood of the people. In his introduction, he recommends us to read the last 25 pages of his book 'before proceeding with any other part,' but even this inversion of the ordinary mode of perusal will hardly lead to any satisfactory result, unless the reader happens to have at his fingers' ends the 150 different publications by the same author of which the present volume professes to be a *resumé*. It is possible, however, to discern from this and other sources what Dr. de Lacouperie's theory on the civilisation of China is. According to him, about 2330 B.C., certain dwellers in Susiana, whom he calls the Bak tribes, travelled across the whole breadth of Central Asia to the north-west provinces of China, carrying with them the elements of writing, 'astronomy, institutions, and religion,' together with certain historical or *quasi*-historical traditions. Historical tradition is seldom without some assured basis, and the author's identification of the Chinese *Shen-nung* with Sargon of Accad, rests, I have been told, upon tolerably solid proof. The same may be the case with the name of the leader of the Baks which Dr. de Lacouperie declares to be *Nai Hwang-ti*. This is not very far from the *Kudur Nakhunte* who appears in some cuneiform texts as an Elamite conqueror of Mesopotamia. But there is no hint in the present volume of the source from which the author derives the names of *Shen-nung* and *Nai Hwang-ti*, of what the Chinese traditions are concerning them, or of the process by which the one pair of names evolved into the other. Such omissions, as I have already said, does not proceed from any want of acquaintance between the author and his subject, but from the incurable vice of his mode of writing. To give only one instance. On p. 9 he tells us that 'the remains and loans of Chaldean culture, which we can still now (!) discover in the early Chinese civilisation are so numerous . . . that we cannot summarise them with clearness.' He then promises to 'enumerate them in relation to' (among other



things) 'Institutions, Government and Religion.' Turning to the sub-title thus headed, we find no enumeration of any remains of Chaldean culture, but the bare statement that the 'ancient religion of the Chinese exhibits various traces of importation from South-west Asia by their civilisers.' Then follows this extraordinary paragraph:—'The singular dualism of supreme divinities which differentiates so entirely this religion from those of the other Mongoloid races of High Asia is most worthy of attention. Besides the worship of *T'ien* the Sky-Heaven so general among these other races, we find in China the cult of a supreme and personal god *Shang-ti* specially reserved to the rulers themselves. *I have not yet published the monograph I have written on the subject to demonstrate this fact*' (the italics are mine) 'and explain how the worship of the supreme god for the time being when the *Bak* tribes migrated from the North of Elam developed among them into the worship of *Shang-ti*.' Evidently, to derive any solid benefit from Dr. de Lacouperie's labours in this instance, we must begin a good deal further back than even the end of the voluminous work under review, and read that which he has not yet published. When I add that the present volume does not contain a single cuneiform or Chinese character, that the reader is referred throughout to other works by the author and other writers for the evidence of the assertions contained in it, and that it has apparently been left to correct itself for the press, it is difficult to see what object Dr. de Lacouperie can have had in its publication other than the convenience of getting some of the contents of his commonplace book into print.\*

Yet we are not wholly dependent on Dr. de Lacouperie for proofs of the derivation of the Chinese culture from Mesopotamia. Mr. Ball of Lincoln's Inn has studied for some time past the relationship between the Sumerian language and the Chinese, and has published the fruits of his studies in the *Proceedings* and *Transactions* which appear on our list. From them we learn that

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\* It is only fair, however, to state that Prof. Douglas and other writers of great authority on Chinese archæology consider that Dr. de Lacouperie has proved his case in other ways, and that his labours have been most valuable to science.

both the Sumerian and the Chinese grammars enjoy the distinction—I fancy it is the unique distinction—of possessing no indication of gender or number. The genitive case, also, in both languages precedes the governing term, and is sometimes marked by a particle which is the same in both; while the subject in Sumerian as in Chinese precedes instead of following the verb. If we add to this that the vocabularies of Sumerian—so far as the study of that extinct tongue has proceeded—and of Chinese are, in the words of Mr. Ball, ‘substantially identical,’ and that there are considerable signs of borrowing in the correspondence of their different ideograms, we have pretty fair grounds for inferring a close relationship between the two tongues. But identity of language, we are told on high authority, is not a test of race but of social contact, and it is extremely difficult to see how, save on some such hypothesis as Dr. de Lacouperie’s, any contact between the Mesopotamian nations and the Chinese can have been brought about. For the Chinese, who have lied to Europeans about the antiquity of their history as about nearly everything else, were by no means the people until late historic times to make foreign conquests or to travel far in search of trade. ‘The Chinese,’ says Dr. de Lacouperie—I am pleased to owe him the quotation—‘formed for long only a small and comparatively poor State, or agglomeration of States, struggling to establish their sway over the native population of the country of their adoption. They were too far away to be entangled in any of the wars and political movements which occurred in Western Asia.’ We know, too that their clumsy junks, originally built for river traffic, were unfitted for anything but coasting voyages. On the other hand, the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia were bold and expert sailors, who, as early as 4000 B.C., must have sailed across the Indian Ocean and up the whole length of the Red Sea. It is therefore extremely probable that their ships may at some time or another have landed them at a point from which it was easy to penetrate into what is now the Chinese Empire. Without then entirely accepting Professor Douglas’s *dictum* that Dr. de Lacouperie and Mr. Ball ‘have proved beyond cavil that the Chinese were immigrants from a centre of civili-

sation in Western Asia,\* they have certainly given us very good grounds for supposing the Chinese to have drawn the elements of culture from the Mesopotamian nations.

To sum up, therefore, the results already obtained from the works under review, we find that of the three civilisations formerly supposed to be independent of each other, that of Egypt was certainly, and that of China was most probably derived from the Mesopotamian. But can we go further than this? Was the civilisation of the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia native to the soil, or was it imported from abroad?

To these questions, I think no prudent person can at present return any but a doubtful answer. All the investigations hitherto made seem to prove that the Sumerians—if, indeed, the Mesopotamian civilisation is exclusively attributable to them—owed nothing, though they may have lent much, to other nations. But it may be noted before we quit this branch of the subject that they did not themselves consider their civilisation indigenous. Their tradition concerning it has been preserved by Bêrôssos, and runs thus:—‘In the first year (of the world) there appeared, rising up from the Persian Gulf, a being endowed with reason whose name was Oannês. The body of this monster was that of a fish, but below the fish’s was a second head which was that of a man, together with the feet of a man which issued from his tail, and with the voice of a man; an image of him is preserved to this day. This being passed the day among men, but without taking any food, teaching them letters, sciences, and the first principles of every art, how to found cities, to construct temples, to measure and assign limits to land, how to sow and reap; in short, *everything that can soften manners and constitute civilisation, so that from that time forward no one has invented anything new.*† Then at sunset this monster Oannês descended again into the sea and spent the night among the waves, for he was amphibious. Afterwards there appeared several other similar creatures. . . .’ The authority of Bêrôssos stands

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\* *Social and Religious Ideas of the Chinese*, Jour. Anth. Inst., XXII, (1893) pp. 159, sqq.

† The italics are mine.

much higher than it did since the discovery of many of the legends he records among the cuneiform texts, and the actual representation of the legendary monster Oannês can now be seen in the British Museum.† The story is generally supposed to mean that the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia received their civilisation from a few members of a superior race who visited them in ships. If this be true, we have here a clue to a stage further back in the history of civilisation than has yet been travelled by any one. But no satisfactory guess has yet been made at the land from whence the mysterious visitants must have come, and I do not propose to offer here any opinion on the subject. The suggestion thrown out by Prof. Sayce that the name Oannês might mean either the prophet Jonah or *Yavanu*, 'the Greek,' does not seem to have been seriously intended.

But, it may be said, what is the use of these speculations about the origin of civilisation? They may, indeed, serve to amuse scholars, but what practical interest can such academic questions have for the man of the 19th century? I venture to think that their interest even for the most *fin de siècle* reader, is very real indeed, and for a twofold reason.

In the first place, it must be noted that in the presence of the scheme of education now in vogue, nothing that can throw light upon the Greek culture can be safely neglected. And the borrowings of Greece from Mesopotamia whether direct or through the Phœnicians, were neither unimportant nor few. It was on this point that Mr. Gladstone dwelt in his Inaugural Address to the Congress of Orientalists, and he submitted in proof of his statements a list of some 15 points of connection between the Homeric civilisation and that of Mesopotamia. The progress of cuneiform study during the last twenty years has been so rapid, that it would have been a wonder greater than any to which he alluded had the venerable statesman been able to keep himself abreast of it amid the cares of state. Hence, it is not surprising that his general conclusion was better than the facts on which he supposed it to rest, and that of his 15 points of resem-

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† Nimroud Gallery. It is described in the Catalogue as 'Image of Fish Deity.'

blance, many were not resemblances at all, while others were due to other causes than those which he assigned to them. Thus, he was clearly wrong when he stated, 'The Babylonian Triad of Anu, Bel, and Hea,' to be 'the possible or probable source of the Homeric Triad of Zeus, Poseidôn, and Aïdoneus.' For, although the Greek Poseidôn may have resembled the Sumerian Ea in that they were both gods of waters, he is neither like Ea the god of the earth, nor the father of the Sun-god. As for Zeus, the father of gods and men, there is hardly a point beyond his title in which he resembles the older Anu. He is not like Anu, the eldest of the gods, for he has a father, Kronos. Poseidôn is not his grandchild as Ea was Anu's, but his brother. And, instead of retiring like Anu to awful and abysmal heights, and leaving the government of this sublunary universe to Ea and his son Merodach, the Zeus of Homer is represented as taking so deep an interest in the affairs of mankind as to indulge in intrigues with mortal women. As for Aïdoneus, there is no point in which he can be compared to Bel of Nipur; for the latter is the god not of the underworld, but of the atmosphere, his Sumerian name of En-lilla, which was formerly translated 'Lord of Ghosts' being now shown by Dr. Hommel to mean 'Lord of the air.' And yet, had Mr. Gladstone carried his researches into the Greek religion a little further than the poems which he has done so much to illustrate, he might have met with striking proofs enough of its indebtedness to Mesopotamia. In the *Theogonia* of Hesiod, we find the Mesopotamian Triad with hardly any alteration occupying the highest place in the Greek Pantheon. 'First of all,' says the poet, 'Chaos came into being.' Then follow Ouranos, 'the airy expanse,' and Gaia, the earth. And, if Ouranos, who is described by Hesiod in exact accordance with the Mesopotamian myth as stretching over the earth like a shield, is fabled to be the first-born, instead of the father of the earth, it is only because the Greeks like all Aryan peoples refused to picture the earth save as a goddess. Further than this, the poet dared not go. For the idea of the supreme Zeus were too firmly fixed in the Greek mind to be uprooted, and it was not until the popular religion had been corrupted by successive importations of Oriental ideas that he

could be openly identified with the Sun. Quite as significant is the strange repetition of the same goddess under different names as the wife of each male personification in succession; and, although it is the earth instead of the chaos of waters who here takes female form, the Greek Gaia, Rhea, and Demeter correspond pretty closely to the Anunit, Ba'u, and Damkina of the Mesopotamian story. But when some two centuries after Hesiod Dionysos, 'the youngest of the gods,' came to join the older Olympians, the resemblance between the two systems became nearly complete. For Dionysos, a name inexplicable in Greek, but which has been traced to the Assyrian *Dian-nisi* 'Judge of men,' is hardly distinguishable from Merodach and Osiris. Like Merodach, he is the mediator between God and man, fulfilling towards the latter all the functions of his father; like him, too, he fights against the Giants, as Merodach overthrows the monsters of Chaos; and like him he is called *ταυρόμορφος*, 'of bull's form.' It was hardly necessary for the mystical school which sprang up in Greece about Pindar's time, and which is known to us as the Orphic, to make him, in order to complete his resemblance to Merodach, at once the creator and the soul of the world. And this was only one side of his character; as the divine Sun he was the benefactor of man, the giver of the harvest, and the overseer of the earth, on which nothing passes without his cognizance.\* Finally, his identification with Osiris was so complete that no Greek ever thought of disputing it. The Mysteries, as they passed more and more under the Orphic teaching, appear to have taught this doctrine formally, and, soon after the foundation of Alexandria, the Greek and Egyptian god became one under the form of the Ptolemaic deity Sarapis.

Of the Greek myths, again, it would be hard to find one which has not been traced to a Mesopotamian source. 'It is clear,' says Dr. Sayce, 'that the Tammuz and Istar of the Babylonian legend are the Adônîs and Aphroditê of Greek mythology.' And the same has been said with regard to the Labours of Heraklê, the myths of Danae, Prometheus, Circe, Chiron, and many more which space will not allow us to dwell upon. Mr. Brown,

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\* Abel's *Orphica* (Lipsiae, 1885) *passim*.



indeed, who is responsible for many of these identifications, declares that 'whenever Greek art\* or mythology shows us something apparently meaningless . . . . and incapable of explanation from internal sources, such representations . . . . are to be patiently investigated in the remains of earlier civilisations,' by which phrase it is clear from the context he means the monuments of Western Asia. And with these myths, the Greek astronomy was inextricably mingled. On every celestial globe, we still read names which the Greeks borrowed direct from the astronomers of Babylon without always taking the trouble to understand their signification. The names of the constellations called the Ram, the Bull, Capricorn, Ophiuchus, Orion, and Eridanus cannot be explained save by reference to Mesopotamian legends.† But we need hardly go further than the evidence of the Greek writers for the Asiatic origin of the Greek star-lore. Herodotus tells us that the use of the sun-dial and the division of the day into 12 hours 'were received by the Greeks from the Babylonians,' and they were hardly likely to borrow such important astronomical matters without taking the names of the stars as well. It may be noted also that Pythagoras, Democritus, and other philosophers are reported on more or less credible testimony to have studied astronomy in Mesopotamia, while Thales, who introduced the science into Greece and laid the foundation of the splendid edifice of Greek philosophy, was of Asiatic, or at all events, of Phœnician extraction.

Professor Sayce's oddly-named book reminds us, however, that there was a nation of antiquity whose beliefs have even a greater interest for the majority of our countrymen than those of the Greeks. The close correspondence between the Biblical account of antediluvian times and the Mesopotamian legends have long been known to scholars, and to put them into a shape intelligible to the general public seems to be one of the aims of the present work. Although in its title it is a protest against the somewhat

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\* Even Greek Art is supposed to have borrowed from Mesopotamian, V. Perrot and Chipiez' *Art in Chaldaea and Assyria* (London, 1884), I., p. 75, II., p. 393.

† *Euphratean Stellar Researches*, Proc. cit. XIV. (1892), p. 304.

destructive theories of exegesis which have arrogated to themselves the name of 'the Higher Criticism,' nearly half its pages are devoted to translations from the cuneiform texts and their comparison with Scripture. To this task, Dr. Sayce brings—as he reminds us in the preface—'the prepossessions of an Anglican priest,' combined with an acquaintance with an cuneiform literature to which few English scholars can lay claim. The result is that, after a clear and impartial enquiry into the Mesopotamian legends concerning the creation of the world, the institution of the Sabbath, the garden of Eden, and the Flood, he pronounces the resemblance between them and the Biblical account to be 'too great to be purely accidental.' With regard to the two first-named, he thinks that the Biblical writer was 'acquainted either directly or indirectly with the Assyrian and Babylonian tradition,' that 'the (Biblical) narrative is ultimately of Babylonian origin,' and that with regard to all four points, 'the language of the Babylonian poet' must have been known 'to the Biblical writer.' As to other matters, such as the creation of man, the Tree of Life, and the Tower of Babel, he hesitates to declare the same correspondence, although it is plain that he expects the decipherment of further texts to complete the evidence in its favour. He also goes at great length into the genealogical table of Gen. x., which he decides to be purely geographical, and he succeeds in identifying most of the names therein with those of the various tribes and nations surrounding Mesopotamia. But all or nearly all of these borrowings (if borrowings they be) are, according to Dr. Sayce, long previous to the Babylonian Exile, the original tradition having passed into and having been preserved in Palestine before the Exodus. The general accuracy of the older Historical Books of the Old Testament, he holds to have been fairly established by the monuments, although he considers that the chronology of the Biblical scribes must be corrected in accordance with the better evidence of the inscriptions. To quote his own words: 'The historical records of the Old Testament do not differ from other historical records whose claim to confidence has been accepted by the verdict of posterity. The facts contained in them are trustworthy, and have been honestly copied from older and in many cases contemporaneous documents; it is only their setting

and framework, the order in which they are arranged, and the links of connection by which they are bound together, that belong to the later compiler. We can question his chronology while admitting to the fullest the correctness of his facts.'

Dr. Sayce does not extend the same toleration to the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, or Daniel. Of the two first, it is sufficient to say that he considers them, when all allowance has been made for interpolations, to contain chronological inconsistencies which 'no amount of ingenuity can explain away,' and that he prefers the narrative of the (Apocryphal) First Book of Esdras to either. But it is on the Book of Daniel that the weight of his indictment falls. According to the inscriptions which Dr. Sayce gives at length, Nabonidos and not Belshazzar was the last King of Babylon; Cyrus and not 'Darius the Mede' was his conqueror and successor; nor was he slain at the taking of Babylon, which was peacefully given up to Gobryas, the Persian general. In all these matters, he declares that the monumental evidence pronounces against 'the historical accuracy of the Scriptural narrative,' and he accordingly relegates the Book of Daniel to 'a period not later than that of Alexander the Great.'

These are grave matters, and I feel that the end of a long article is not the place to discuss them. I would rather devote the little space that remains to me to the reason why Mesopotamia became, as we have seen, the fount of civilisation to the ancient world. Fortunately we have not far to seek. The history of Mesopotamia up to the rise of the Persian power, was, as we now know, the history of the East. Thanks partly to her unassailable geographical position, partly to the wealth which her natural fertility gave her, and most of all, perhaps, to the mixture of races within her borders, the power that was supreme in Mesopotamia was able to send forth armies so large as to bear down all opposition. Even before the days of Sargon of Accad, whose date can be put with great confidence at 3800 B.C., the kings of Sumer had pushed their conquests as far as the Sinaitic peninsula, from whence they drew the hard blocks of diorite on which their inscriptions are engraved. As for Sargon, the first and perhaps the greatest of the Semitic kings, he boasts in his inscriptions that his conquests extended from Elam in the East

to Cyprus in the West, that he had subdued 'the four quarters of the world,' and that he had 'neither equal nor rival.\* Sargon's successors well kept up his policy, and beneath their feet all the lesser powers of the Syrians, the Hittites, the Phœnicians, and the Hebrews were crushed like glass as soon as they showed signs of becoming formidable. Only Egypt could stand before them, but although in a moment of division in Mesopotamia she might invade Asia under a Thothmes or a Rameses, the invaders were sooner or later driven back to their own country, which had more than once to receive an Assyrian governor. At length both Mesopotamia and Egypt fell under the yoke of those Aryan races against which Semite, Turanian, and African, have never dashed themselves save in vain. But during the 3000 years that elapsed between Sargon of Accad and Cyrus of Anzan, how profound must have been the influence which Mesopotamia exercised over the faith, arts, sciences, and literature of her neighbours and subjects! The volumes before us have given us some idea of this, and we cannot doubt that further discoveries are now in progress which will all make in the same direction. Assyriologists have often been accused of making 'sensational' discoveries, but none that they can now make can take away from the importance of Mesopotamia in the history of the world. In the words of an author who has studied more deeply perhaps than anyone living the material side of civilisation: 'Among those distant ancestors of whom we are the direct heirs, those ancestors who have left us that heritage of civilisation which grows with every year that passes, there are none, perhaps, to whom our respect and our filial gratitude are more justly due than to the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia.' †

F. LEGGE.

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\* Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures for 1887*, p. 30.

† Perrot, *op. cit.*, p. 399, sq.

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## ART. VIII—COREA.

1. *Problems of the Far East.* By the Hon. GEORGE N. CURZON, M.P. Japan—Korea—China. London : 1894.
2. *Report of a Journey in North Corea.* By Mr. C. W. CAMPBELL. China. No. 2, 1891. Presented to both Houses of Parliament.
3. *Corea, the Hermit Nation.* By WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS. London : 1882.

THROUGH the rivalries of its friends or enemies Corea, Chosén, or the Land of the Morning Calm has, during the last few months, been thrown into a state of wild confusion, and become the scene of war and carnage. Whatever may be the result of the struggle which its two neighbours are now waging along its shores and within its borders—whether China or Japan proves the victor, and whether Corea be declared free and independent, or, instead of being the almost nominal subject of the Middle Kingdom, becomes the real vassal of the Land of the Rising Sun—there can be no doubt that the lot of its inhabitants is at the present moment far from enviable. Helpless between their two powerful and jealous neighbours, they are compelled to undergo the untold horrors of a war they have not provoked, in order that the domestic troubles of a young and blustering nation may be staved off for a little, and its jealousies and ambitions satisfied. How long this state of affairs will last, or how long it may be allowed to continue, it is difficult to tell. Before these pages see the light it may be that China, or even Japan, though at present that seems far from likely, may have sued for peace and a hollow truce may have been patched up; or the Western Powers, either in the cause of humanity or in their own interest, may have intervened, and compelled the combatants to lay down their arms or to shift the scene of their operations elsewhere. To all appearance things are rapidly approaching a crisis, and there is no knowing what to-morrow's telegrams may have to tell. One thing, however, seems to be certain; and that is, that a new era is opening up in the history of Corea.

The last of the 'hermit' nations, though the existence of the peninsula was known in Europe as far back as the sixteenth century, and notwithstanding the descriptions given of it by the Arabian geographers of the Middle Ages, very little was known about Corea and its inhabitants, at least in the West, until comparatively recent times. Within the last fifty years something like a considerable literature has grown up about them. Most of it, however, is second-hand; travellers in Corea have been few, and the amount of reliable information about it cannot by any means be called great. A good deal of interesting information may be gathered from the narrative of the unfortunate Dutchman, Hendrik Hamel,\* who spent the years between 1653 and 1667 as a prisoner in Corea, and from Father Dallet's *Histoire de l'Eglise de Corée*,† as also from *Life in Corea* by Mr. Carles, sometime H. B. M. Vice-Consul in Corea; but the works we have indicated above contain most of what is at present really known. Mr. Griffis's work is for the most part a compilation, not pre-eminently well arranged, yet of the scholarly and, in the main, reliable kind. The sources from which he has drawn are numerous. It is rich in historical traditions and gives a good account of the manners, customs, folk-lore, superstitions and government of the country, the history of which is brought down to the time of writing. Mr. Campbell's Report is interesting on other grounds. Its value and accuracy is borne witness to by no less competent a judge than Mr. Curzon, who says that, within a narrow space, it contains the most vivid and accurate account of Corean life and character he has seen.‡ Mr. Curzon's own work is part of the outcome of two journeys made round the world in 1887-88 and in 1892-98. It deals with Japan, Corea, and China, and is to be followed by another volume treating of the other countries lying beyond India in the Far East. Though in a measure dependent upon the works already mentioned, it is written for the most part from personal observation. The statesman and politician is evident on every page. There is little of the descriptive in it, Mr. Curzon's aim being rather to present the reader

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\* Printed in Astley and Pinkerton's *Voyages*.

† 2 Vols. Paris, 1874.

‡ *Problems*, p. 87.



with a distinct account of the present political condition of the three countries about which he writes, and to state his views as to their probable future. Its publication at the present juncture is exceedingly opportune, and will, there can be little doubt, have considerable influence in shaping public opinion.

'Corea,' it was said some time ago, 'suggests no more than a sea-shell.' At the present moment, though it certainly suggests much more than it did, say, some twenty years ago, it is still one of the least known countries of the globe. In the following pages, therefore, we propose to give some account of its geography, products, people, government and history.

On the north, Corea is bounded for a short distance by the Tiumen, beyond which lies Siberia; for the rest of its boundary on the Asiatic Continent it has the Chinese province of Manchuria. The peninsula, which may also be called an island, of which it for the most part consists, hangs down between the Middle Kingdom and the Land of the Sunrise, separating the Sea of Japan from the Yellow Sea, between the 34th and 43rd parallels of North Latitude. Its estimated area together with that of its outlying islands makes it almost equal to that of Great Britain, being 82,000 square miles. Its coast line measures 1,740 miles. As pointed out by Mr. Griffis, in general shape and relative position the peninsula of Corea resembles that of Florida. Legend and geology alike suggest that it was at one time connected with the Chinese promontory and province of Shantung, and that what is now the Gulf of Pechili and the Yellow Sea was formerly dry land; their waters are shallow, and the elevation of their bottoms but a few feet would suffice to restore their area to the land surface of the globe. On the other side of the peninsula the sea of Japan is also shallow, while at their greatest depth the Straits of Corea, separating Corea from the Japanese island of Kiushiu, give but 83 feet. The eastern and western coasts of Corea are very different. The former is comparatively destitute of harbours, its shores are high and monotonous, but slightly indented, and with few islands; the western coast, on the other hand, is frequently indented, possesses good harbours and landing places, has a number of navigable rivers, and is fringed with innumerable islands. The fertility and beauty, and

the fantastic outlines which these assume have attracted the attention of travellers. Mr. Adams, who visited the country previous to 1870, writes :—

‘As you approach them you look from the deck of the vessel and see them dotting the wide, blue, boundless plain of the sea—groups and clusters of islands stretching away into the far distance. Far as the eye can reach, these dark masses can faintly be discerned, and as we close, one after another, the bold outlines of their mountain peaks stand out clearly against the cloudless sky. The water from which they seem to arise is so deep around them that a ship can almost range up alongside them. The rough, gray granite and basaltic cliffs, of which they are composed, show them to be only the rugged peaks of submerged mountain masses which have been rent, in some great convulsion of nature, from the peninsula which stretches into the sea from the mainland. You gaze upward and see the weird, fantastic outline which some of their torn and riven peaks present. In fact, they have assumed such peculiar forms as to have suggested to navigators characteristic names. Here, for example, stands out the fretted crumbling tower of one called Windsor Castle, there frowns a noble rock-ruin, the Monastery, and here again, mounting to the skies, the Abbey Peak. Some of the islands of the Archipelago are very lofty, and one was ascertained to boast of a naked granite peak more than 2000 feet above the level of the sea. Many of the summits are crowned with a dense forest of conifers, dark trees, very similar to Scotch firs.’\*

On the mainland the most striking feature is a chain of mountains which traverses the peninsula from North to South, throwing out many off-shoots, and winding in and out, as the Coreans say, ninety-nine times. To a very large extent it determines the configuration, climate, river system, and political divisions of the country. Lying to the eastern side of the peninsula, the provinces of Eastern Corea, are for the most part mountainous, and through seven parallels of latitude present a living wall of verdure to the traveller who approaches the country from the Sea of Japan. With the exception of Yung-hing, or Broughton Bay, they are almost entirely destitute of harbours ; and the only river of importance they possess is the Nak-tong, which drains the valley between the interior and the sea coast range. The five western provinces of the country are spread

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\* *Travels of a Naturalist in Japan and Manchuria*, quoted by Mr. Griffiths, p. 4.

over the western slopes of the mountain range, the fertile valleys of which are drained by broad streams. With two exceptions the political divisions of the peninsula are determined by the river systems, the rainfall in nearly every province finding an outlet in its own sea-border. The exceptions are the two North-Eastern provinces, where part of their waters is discharged into streams emptying themselves beyond their boundaries. The Yalu, recently become so famous, and the Han, near to which is Söul, the capital, are the only streams whose sources lie beyond their own provinces. After a custom, not unknown in other parts of the world, but frequently annoying, it is extremely rare that a river retains the same name throughout the whole or even the greater part of its course.\*

The climate is extremely varied. Great differences also occur in the same latitude on the opposite sides of the mountain range. Its general characteristics, however, are said to be excellent, bracing in the North and tempered in the South by the ocean breezes of summer. As compared with European countries in the same latitude, Corea is on the whole much colder in winter and hotter in summer. In the North the Tiumen is usually frozen during five months in the year, and at Söul the Han may be crossed on ice during two or three months. Snow is not unknown in the Southern provinces, though the plains are usually free. When it does occur it generally disappears within twenty-four hours. The lowest point to which the mercury fell in the observations of the French missionaries was at the 35th parallel of latitude 8°, and at the 37th parallel 15° (F.) The best seasons are spring and autumn. In summer the heat is great and the rain often falls in torrents, rendering transport and travelling impossible. Towards the end of September a period of tempests and variable winds occurs.† Here and there malaria prevails.

Game, both large and small, is said to be abundant. Tigers of the largest and fiercest kind abound in the forests, more especially in those of the two northern provinces. When food fails them, they attack the villages, and the annual list of victims is very

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\* *Corea*, pp. 5-7.

† *Ibid*, pp. 5-7.

large.\* Leopards, bears, deer, and the wild hog are numerous, as also are pheasants, wild ducks, geese, and swans; the falcon, which is protected by stringent laws, the eagle, crane, and stork are common, and the beautiful pink ibis is frequently met with both singly and in flocks. Corea, however, is not a happy hunting ground for the sportsman, even after he has managed to get access to the country. Hotels are unknown, the rest-houses, and even the best lodgings procurable by means of a letter from the Corean Foreign Office are abominably filthy; the natives as a rule are not hunters, and are too timid to render assistance in hunting the larger game. The professional hunters, however, are said to be both bold and expert.

Of domesticated animals, horses, which are mostly of a short and stunted breed, are numerous. 'The ox,' as Mr. Campbell observes, 'is the farmer's great assistant,' ploughing, drawing, and carrying for him. Goats are rare. Sheep are imported from China for sacrificial purposes. The dog serves for food as well as for companionship. The Corean pig is black, hairy, wily and gaunt.

All round the peninsula there is an abundant supply of fish. Year by year its waters are frequented by immense shoals of herrings, which during the months of April, May, and June, attract fleets of junks and thousands of fishermen from the northern coast provinces of China. Off the eastern shores the Japanese hunt the whale, which follows the herring shoals in

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\* 'The number of human lives lost, and the value of property destroyed by these ravages, is so great,' says Mr. Griffiths, 'as to depopulate certain districts. A hungry tiger will often penetrate a village in which the houses are well secured, and will prowl around a hovel or ill-secured dwelling, during several entire nights. If hunger presses, he will not raise the siege until he leaps upon the thatched roof. Through the hole thus made by tearing through, he bounds upon the terrified household. In this case a hand-to-claw fight ensues, in which the tiger is killed or comes off victorious after glutting himself upon one or more human victims. Rarely, however, need this King of Corean beasts resort to this expedient, for such is the carelessness of the villagers that in spite of the man-eater's presence in the neighbourhood, they habitually sleep during the summer with the doors of their houses wide open, and oftentimes even in the sheds in the open fields without dreaming of taking the precaution to light a fire.' P. 324.

large schools, and the fishing is said to yield considerable profit. The pearl fisheries are now utterly neglected, though formerly the pearls of Corea were famous both for their size and brilliancy, and were said to outrival those derived from the fisheries of Tonquin. The industry only needs to be properly worked to prove lucrative. The best pearls are found off the coast of the Yellow Sea province, in the archipelago to the south and at the island of Quelpart. Sponges of several varieties are met with in abundance on the western coast, and among many of the islands.

The mineral wealth of Corea, especially in the province of Ping-yang, is said to be very great, though latterly some have been disposed to suspect the estimates which have been formed of it as more or less fanciful.

'It is known,' writes Mr. Curzon, 'that gold, lead, and silver (galena), copper and iron ores are found in some abundance, although hitherto worked in the most spasmodic and clumsy fashions. Some years ago the most roseate anticipations were indulged in of impending mineral productions; and a financial authority has been found to assert that the problem of the currency of the world would be solved by the phenomenal output of the precious metals from Korea. Latterly there has been a corresponding recoil of opinion, which has led people to declare that the Korean mines are a fraud, and that the wealth-producing capacity of the peninsula will never be demonstrated in this direction. Those, however, who have the most intimate knowledge of the interior agree in thinking that the minerals are there, and are capable of being worked by European hands at an assured profit. Should the government consent to a concession on an at all liberal scale, and personally assist instead of obstructing its operations, the money would be forthcoming to-morrow from more than one quarter, and it is inconceivable, vain though the Koreans are about treasures of which they know nothing, but which, because a few foreigners are running after them, they conceive must be unique in the world, that many more years must elapse before a serious attempt is made to open them up. Excellent coal, a soft anthracite, burning brightly and leaving little ash, is already procured by the most primitive methods from a mine near Pyong-yang, which is said to contain unlimited quantities. Nearly all the iron that is used in the country for agricultural and domestic purposes is also of native production, the ore being scratched out of shallow holes in the ground and smelted in charcoal furnaces. The Koreans have no conception either of ventilation, drainage, blasting\* or lighting. There

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\* At Chang-yin the owner of the silver mines there told Mr. Carles that he had came across a piece of hard rock on which his tools had no effect, and that he had tried gunpowder, but to no purpose. *Life in Corea*, p. 252.

is now a Mining Board among the Government Departments at Söul ; but of its activity no evidence is as yet forthcoming.\*

Gold, of which the lion's share has always gone to Japan, is obtained mostly in placer diggings, and is a Government monopoly. The output of the Imperial mines in the year 1891 is given at 36,265 ounces troy, but this is supposed to be only about twenty per cent. of the annual export. Indiscriminate gold-seeking is forbidden, but large quantities are yearly smuggled out of the country by the Chinamen who frequent the herring fishery, and by those engaged in the overland and Japanese trade. Five years ago the Government, Mr. Curzon informs us, 'purchased foreign machinery and engaged foreign miners to work the gold mines in the Pyong-yang district, but the enterprise was abandoned before it had a fair trial.' Copper, which, notwithstanding the native supply, was imported in 1890 to the value of £40,000, is worked up into various kinds of utensils of which there is a slight export trade with China.

In the north the chief crops are barley, millet and oats ; in the south, rice, wheat, beans and grain of all kinds are grown, besides tobacco, for which the Coreans have an especial fondness. The famous ginseng is a Government monopoly. The most precious drug in the Chinese pharmacopœia, though considered worthless by Europeans, it has been known to realise its weight in gold and several times its weight in silver at Peking. An inferior kind is now, and has been for many years, supplied to the China market by the United States of America. The Korean root, however, is still greatly esteemed, though the price it fetches is nothing like what it used to be before the monopoly was broken. The annual value of the export is about £40,000.

The principal ports of the country are the three Treaty ports of Fusan, Gensan, and Chemulpo. Fusan is upon the south-east coast, opposite to and within sight of the island of Tsushima, and was for long in possession of the Japanese, with whom a considerable trade was done. Gensan is upon the east coast, about half-way between Fusan and Vladivostok. Chemulpo is upon the west coast, and is the port of the capital, Söul. Mr. Curzon, who has visited them, describes them as follows :—

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\* Pp. 189-90.



'The harbours of Fusan and Gensan are alike in being situated at the bottom of deep and sheltered bays, which could provide anchorage for immense armadas, which are visited by a yearly increasing mercantile marine, flying the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Russian flags. Fusan as the port nearest to Japan, has retained for centuries a more than nominal connection with the neighbouring Power, having been from early times a fief of the daimio or lord of Tsushima, until, in 1876, it became a trading-port constituted between the two Powers. . . . Gensan is situated in the southern bottom of the remarkable inlet in the Eastern Coast, called, from the British navigator who first surveyed it in 1797, Broughton Bay. A deeper, and even finer indentation of the same bay, sheltered by the Nakimoff peninsula, in the well-known port of Lazareff, first surveyed and named by the Russians in 1854, and ever since regarded by that people, from their ice-bound quarters at Vladivostok, with a more than envious eye. The entire bay is fourteen miles in length, from two to six in width, and has a depth of from six to twelve fathoms. Seawards its entrance is masked by an archipelago of islets. . . . A less vigorous trade is here conducted by both Japanese and Chinese (the latter having only recently entered the field) with the northern provinces, the populous towns in which are more easily reached from the western coast, and will ultimately be more naturally served from the river-port of Pyong-yang (or Ping-yeng), as soon as the latter is opened to foreign commerce, or as the Korean coasting marine becomes equal to its supply. . . . Chemulfo has few natural aptitudes as a port beyond its situation on the estuary of the southern branch of the river Han, or Han-kiang, upon which stands the Korean capital, and its consequent proximity to the main centre of population. The river journey is fifty-four miles in length to Mapu, the landing-place of Söul, which lies three miles farther on. The land march to Söul is an uninviting stretch of twenty-six miles. In 1883, when Chemulfo was first opened to foreign trade, there was only a fishing hamlet with fifteen Korean huts on the site, where now may be seen a prosperous town, containing over 3,000 foreigners, of whom 2,500 are Japanese, 600 Chinamen, and over twenty Europeans, as well as a native population of equal numbers. There are a European club, several billiard saloons and restaurants, and some excellent Chinese stores. The outer anchorage is some two or three miles from the shore, for the tide runs out here for miles (with a rise and fall of 25 to 30 feet), leaving an exposed waste of mud-flats and a narrow channel, in which steamers of light draught rest upon the ooze. The busy streets and harbour are indications of a rapidly advancing trade, which promises further expansion in the near future.'\*

The value of the export trade passing through these ports fell

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\* *Problems*, pp. 88-93.

in 1891 from 3,366,344 dollars to 2,443,739 dollars in 1892, and that of the imports from 5,256,468 to 4,598,485 dollars in the same period. The imports were chiefly cotton and woollen goods, the former consisting chiefly of shirtings, lawns and muslins. The chief exports were beans, hides, and rice. The returns for last year show a further decline in the volume of trade. The value of it was not more than £1,500,000. This refers, however, to the Treaty ports. The actual trade of the country is much greater. A large trade is done at the non-treaty ports and with China and Russia overland. The shipping is almost entirely in the hands of the Japanese. Last year not a single British steamer appeared off the coast. A remarkable feature pointed out by Mr. O'Connor, H.B.M. Minister at Pekin, in his Report for 1893, is the large increase of vessels sailing under the Korean flag. In eight years they have risen from seven steamers and three sailing ships to 141 steamers and 149 sailing ships. British goods find their way to Corea chiefly through China. The most formidable competitor which Britain has to fear in her markets is Japan. The cheapness of labour enables the Japanese manufacturers, whose machinery is said to be equal to the best here, to produce the same articles at less cost, and consequently to undersell.\*

The Coreans, of whom there are said to be some 11,000,000 or 12,000,000, the males exceeding the females, belong to the Mongolian stock, and occupy, as Mr. Curzon points out, a sort of intermediate stage between the Mongolian Tartar and the Japanese. Their history they boast goes back for four thousand years, and certainly the origin of their kingdom is lost in obscurity. For centuries they have, until quite recently, successfully carried out a policy of isolation. Foreigners of all sorts were rigidly excluded, and so intent was the Government on harring their ingress that the shores were laid waste lest the mariner should be tempted to land, and a stretch of country twenty leagues in width was some three centuries ago laid waste all

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\* 'The wages of a cotton operative in Japan are from 10 cents to 20 cents (i.e. 3d to 6d) a day. Japanese coal is delivered at the mills for 2½ (i.e. 6s. 3d.) a ton.' *Problems*, p. 51.

along the Chinese border, in order to prevent intrusions from the Asian Continent.\*

The language spoken by this curious people belongs to the Turanian family. Many Chinese words have been introduced into it, and two syllabaries or alphabets are in use—the Nido or Corean, which gives a phonetic value to some 250 Chinese ideographs in common use, and is said to have been invented over a thousand years ago by Syel Chong, a famous scholar and priest; and the Corean alphabet or script which was first adopted in 1447 A.D., and is still in use among the lower orders. Communication, however, is always possible with them by means of the Chinese symbols, which are equally in use. Among the upper or official classes the usual language both of speech and correspondence is Chinese, though all are acquainted with Corean. Chinese is also the official language, and as such is used by the Government in its publications, examinations and decrees.

Though belonging to the Mongolian race and speaking an agglutinative language the Coreans are easily distinguished from their neighbours both on the Continent of Asia and the adjacent islands of Japan. Physically they are tall, broad-shouldered and well made. Their dress, as is well known, is peculiar, and would serve to make them conspicuous anywhere. Mr. Curzon gives the following graphic account of their appearance:

‘The first sight of its white-robed people, whose figures if stationary, might be mistaken at a distance for white mile-posts or tombstones, if

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\* ‘Of late years,’ observes Mr. Griffis (p. 8), ‘the Chinese Government has respected the neutrality of this barrier less and less. One of those recurring historical phenomena peculiar to Manchuria—the increase and pressure of population—has within a generation caused the occupation of large portions of this neutral strip. Parts of it have been surveyed and staked out by Chinese surveyors, and the Corean Government has been too feeble to prevent the occupation. Though no towns or villages are marked on the map of this “No man’s land,” yet already (*i.e.* in 1882), a considerable number of small settlements exist upon it. As this once neutral territory is being gradually obliterated, so the former lines of palisades and stone walls on the northern border which, two centuries and more ago, were strong, high, guarded, and kept in repair, have year by year, during a long period of peace, been suffered to fall into decay. They exist no longer, and should be erased from the maps.’

moving, for a colony of swans, acquaints us with a national type and dress that are quite unique. A dirty people who insist upon dressing in white is a first peculiarity ; a people inhabiting a northern, and in winter a very rigorous latitude, who yet insist upon wearing cotton (even though it be wadded in winter) all the year round, is a second ; a people who always wear hats, and have a headpiece accommodated to every situation and almost every incident in life, is a third. But all these combine to make the wearers picturesque ; while as to Kcrean standards of comfort we have nothing to do but to wonder. As to their physique the men are stalwart, well-built, and bear themselves with a manly air, though of docile and sometimes timid expression. The hair is worn long, but is twisted into a topknot, protected by the crown of the aforementioned hat. The women, of whom those belonging to the upper class are not visible, but the poorer among whom may be seen by hundreds engaged in manual labour, cannot be described as beautiful. They have a peculiar arrangement of dress by which a short white bodice covers the shoulders, but leaves the breasts entirely exposed ; while the voluminous petticoats, very full at the hips, depend from a waist, just below the armpits, and all but conceal coarse white or brown pantaloons below. Their hair is black, and is wound in a big coil round the temples, supplying a welcome contrast to the greasy though fascinating coiffure of the females of Japan. Indeed, if the men of the two nations are unlike—the tall, robust, good-looking, idle Korean, and the diminutive, ugly, nimble, indomitable Japanese—still more so are the women—the hard visaged, strong-limbed, masterful housewife of Korea, and the shuffling, knock-kneed, laughing, betwitching Japanese damsel. The Korean boy, indeed, might more easily be taken to represent the gentler sex, since, until he is engaged to be married, he wears his hair parted in the middle and hanging in a long plait down his back.\*

The Koreans marry early, are prone to have large families, and are naturally long-lived. According to law each man can have but one wife, but concubinage is widely practiced. Notwithstanding the invigorating character of the climate, the habits of life and morals of the Koreans have made them subject to many forms of disease. The mortality amongst children is enormous, and the death-rate is still further increased by the epidemics which every third or fourth year sweep over the country, and against the recurrence of which no precautions whatever are taken. Among the lower classes there is neither cleanliness nor decency. Poverty in the sense of destitution, Mr. Curzon tells

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\* Pp. 93-96.

us, does not exist, but poverty in the sense of having no surplus beyond the bare means of livelihood is almost universal. In the neighbourhood of the silver mines of Chang-jin, in the north, Mr. Carles met with the signs of a destitution almost absolute. Though usually uncomplaining, the people there complained that they were very poor, and besought him to tell them how they might improve their condition. 'Nowhere else in Corea,' he writes, 'had I seen such universal symptoms of poverty, and the anxious expression on the faces of the crowd as they waited for my answer, confirmed the story.' Enterprise is entirely wanting. Servitude to a form of government which has never either encouraged or so much as permitted it, and centuries of isolation from the rest of the world have made the people apathetic, listless, and indolent. As individuals, however, Mr. Curzon informs us, they are not without attractive characteristics—the upper classes being polite, cultivated, friendly to foreigners, and priding themselves on correct deportment; while the lower orders are good tempered, though excitable, cheerful, and talkative. All classes are fond of sight-seeing, and there is nothing the Corean loves better than a *Kukyeng*, or pleasure trip into the country, where he shirks all business, and dawdles away his time in amusements, more or less innocent. Excessive eating is a national failing. The Corean never knows when he has eaten enough. Nor is he in any way fastidious as to what he eats or as to how it is prepared. His usual food is rice, but like the Japanese he is fond of raw fish. He is not averse to a dish of dog's flesh, but can obtain beef only when permitted by the Government officials. As might be expected from his physique the Corean has a great reserve of physical strength. It is seldom, however, that he uses it. Mr. Carles reports that he has seen seven men digging with a single spade between them, and doing among them the work of one man; and Mr. Curzon writes: 'I have seen a Korean coolie carrying a weight that would make the strongest ox stagger, and yet I have seen three Koreans lazily employed in turning up the soil with a shovel by an arrangement of ropes that wasted the labours of three men without augmenting the strength of one.' An idiosyncrasy of a different kind is mentioned by Mr. Griffis. As soldiers, he remarks, they are timid to a degree in

the open, but behind their fortifications they display an invincible courage and fight with the utmost determination.\*

The Coreans are, for the most part, Buddhists, and numerous Buddhist monasteries are scattered up and down the country. Most of them are placed in the midst of lovely scenery, and have long been places of great resort. The internal arrangements of these monasteries are usually the same. Mr. Curzon, who visited the chief or metropolitan monastery of Sak Wang Sa, about twenty miles from Gensan, gives the following description of them:—

‘Adjoining, sometimes over, the entrance, is a roofed platform or terrace, the pillars and sides of which are thickly hung with the votive or subscription tablets of former pilgrims. Here is usually placed a gigantic drum, reposing upon the back of a painted wooden monster. Hard by a big bronze bell hangs behind a grill. The central court, into which one first enters, contains the principal shrine or temple, usually at the upper end, and subsidiary shrines or guest-chambers on either side. All are of the same pattern—low detached buildings, with heavy tiled roofs and overhanging eaves, closed by screens or shutters, or doors along the front. Inside is a single gloomy chamber or hall, the richly carved and painted ceiling of which is sustained by large red pillars. Opposite the entrance is the main altar, a green or pink gauze veil hanging in front, of which but half conceals the gilded figures of seated or standing Buddhas behind, while all around the sides are ranged grotesque and grinning images, usually in painted clay, of other demigods, saints, or heroes. A low stool

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\* ‘Chinese, Japanese, French, and Americans,’ he says, ‘have experienced the fact, and marvelled thereat. . . . The Coreans are poor soldiers in the open field, and exhibit slight proof of personal valour. They cannot face a dashing foe nor endure stubborn fighting. But put the same men behind walls, bring them to bay, and the timid stag amazes the hounds. Their whole nature seems reinforced. They are more than brave. Their courage is sublime. They fight to the last man, and fling themselves on the bare steel when the foe clears the ramparts. The Japanese of 1592 looked on the Coreans in the field as a kitten, but in the castle as a tiger. The French, in 1666, never found a force that could face rifles, though behind walls the same men were invincible. The American handful of tars kept at harmless distance thousands of black heads in the open, but inside the fort they met giants in bravery. No nobler foe ever met American steel. Even when disarmed they fought their enemies with dust and stones until slain to the last man. The sailors found that the sheep in the field were lions in the fort.’ Pp. 42-3.



stands in front of the main altar, and supports a copy of the liturgy and a small brass bell. Thereat, when the hour strikes for morning or evening prayer, a monk, hastily pulling a grey robe and red hood over his white dress, kneels down on a mat, intones a prayer in a language which he does not understand, touches the ground with his forehead, and strikes the brass bell with a small deer's horn. Similar replicas of the same sanctuary, dedicated to different deities, stand in the neighbouring courts' (Pp. 107-8. See also Mr. Campbell's *Report*).

Many of the monasteries are built on the summits or slopes of high mountains and are difficult of access. Not a few of them are further protected by a high enclosing wall, behind which royal and other fugitives have often found refuge when in distress. Some of these mountain monasteries are said to be rich in old books, manuscripts, and liturgical furniture. The great monastery of Tong-to-sa, between Kiung-sang and Chulla is noted for its library, and is said to possess the entire sacred canon. The monks are divided into three classes, students, mendicants, and soldiers. The mendicants, when not on duty in the monasteries, travel far and wide in quest of alms. The soldier-monks act as garrisons and make and keep in order the weapons to the use of which they are trained. 'This clerical militia,' Mr. Curzon remarks, 'is a legacy from the days when the Buddha hierarchy was a great power in the land, and produced statesmen as well as devotees and students.' There are also several nunneries.

In spite of Buddhism, however, the more ancient Shamanism still prevails, and is probably the basis of whatever faith the Corean has. Good and evil spirits are believed to be everywhere and to control everything, and nothing of importance is done without consulting or trying to propitiate them. Ancestor-worship is also sedulously cultivated. Public celebrations are held at stated times in honour of the dead, and in most well to do houses may be seen the gilt and black tablets inscribed with the names of the departed. Before these tablets the smoke of incense rises daily. Mourning for the dead may be said to form a part of the national religion, and is regulated as to time and place and dress by the rules laid down in an official treatise called the 'Guide to Mourners,' published by the Government. The colour for mourning is pure, or nearly pure, white, as a contrast

to red, the colour of rejoicing. The hat worn during the period of mourning is high peaked and covers the face as well as the head. Those wearing it are lost to the world; they are not to be spoken to, nor molested, nor even arrested. Missionaries have often found it a safe disguise, and have been able to move about the country unharmed, even when the secret police, of whom there are numbers, were on their track watching to secure them.

At the head of the Government is the King, or Hap-mun, whose power is absolute. He seldom appears in public, but close communication is kept up between the palace and populace by means of pages employed about the Court, or through officers who are sent out as the King's spies all over the country, to ascertain the state of popular feeling, or to report on the conduct of certain officials. They are known as the 'Messengers on the Dark Path,' and are themselves shadowed and reported on by another set known as 'Night Messengers.' Next in authority to the King is the Chief of the three Chong, or high ministers. After the King and the three chief ministers come the Boards of Government, of which there are eight, including a Home Department and a Foreign Department, which have recently been added. The heads of these Boards report daily of all affairs coming under their jurisdiction, and refer matters of importance to the Supreme Council, or three principal Ministers of State. A gazette called the Chō-po is issued daily, containing information on official matters. The provinces, of which there are eight, are each under the direction of a governor, and every district has its magistrate.

Corean society is theoretically divided into three broad classes; the 'sang,' or upper, the 'chung,' or middle, and the 'ha,' or lower. The official class, which is known as the Nyang-pan or Two Orders—civil and military—constitutes the aristocracy of birth, descending from an aristocracy of office. Their number is enormous and in a measure explains the poverty of the people. Etiquette, as well as disposition, forbids them to work, and they can only hang on to their superiors and pick up what they can. In his Report for 1885, Mr. Carles mentions that in one province alone, Pyong-an-do, there were forty-four magistracies, with

an average of four hundred official hangers-on in each, or in all 17,600 men who had nothing to do but to police the district and collect the taxes. The best account of them is given by Mr. Campbell in his Report.

'The *nyang-pan*,' he says, 'enjoys many of the usual privileges of nobility. He is exempt from arrest, except by command of the King or the Governor of the province in which he resides, and then he is not liable to personal punishment, except for the gravest crimes, such as treason or extortion. He wields an autocratic sway over the inmates of his house, and has full licence to resent any real or fancied insult levelled at him by the *ha-in*, i.e., 'low men,' the proletariat, just as he pleases. At the same time the *nyang-pan* lies under one great obligation, *noblesse oblige*; he cannot perform any menial work or engage in any trade or industrial occupation. Outside the public service, teaching is the only form of employment open to him. If he seeks any other, he sinks irrevocably to the level of his occupation. There is no law laid down on the point. The penalty is enforced socially, and is part of the unwritten code of *nyang-pan* etiquette. These privileges and obligations have naturally influenced the character of the class, so that the officeless *nyang-pan*, no matter how poor, is proud and punctilious as a Spanish *hidalgo*, nor above negotiating a loan with the most shameless effrontery, yet keen to resent the slightest shade of disrespect from an inferior' (Pp. 33-4).

The magistrates surround themselves after their fashion with great pomp and state, and lay great stress on etiquette. Unjust magistrates are sometimes punished with exile; it is only on rare occasions that they are put to death. Good and upright magistrates are often commemorated by *mok-pi*, i.e., inscribed columns erected to their memory along the public roads by those whose gratitude they have earned. Civil matters are decided by the ordinary civil magistrates; criminal cases are tried by the military commandants. Important cases are referred to the governor of the province. Cases of treason and rebellion, and charges against high officials are tried before a special tribunal appointed by the King, in the capital, where is also the highest Court of Appeal. The system of making every five houses a unit is universal, and facilitates the discovery of criminals. The present criminal code is, in the main, that which was promulgated in 1785, and appears to be much less severe than the one in force in Hamel's time. Every subject of the Sovereign, except nobles of rank, is required to possess a passport testifying to his personality and the

group of houses to which he belongs, and must be ready at any time to produce it on demand. Foreigners travelling in the country do well to arm themselves with a letter or passport from the Korean Foreign Office.

The civilisation of Corea is in its origin Chinese. That of Japan, on the other hand, was, according to all accounts and by the admission of its own writers, derived from Corea. The connection of Corea with the Middle Kingdom goes back into the centuries before the Christian Era, and is apparently as old as the Chinese Empire itself. Various Emperors attempted the subjugation of the peninsula, and invaded it with vast armies and fleets. The Japanese also attempted to establish themselves upon its shores, and were long in the habit of regarding it as a vassal state.

The first Japanese invasion of the country dates as far back as the year 202 A.D., when the Empress-regent, who rejoiced in the name of Jingu, or Jingo, made a levy of all the available forces in her kingdom, and landed them on the coast of the province, or Kingdom, of Shintira. Terrified by the appearance of her army the King of Shintira at once submitted. The Empress-regent caused her bow to be suspended over the gate of his palace as a sign of his submission, and is even said to have written upon the gate, 'The King of Shintira is the dog of Japan.' Preparations were then made by Jingu to subdue the neighbouring province of Hiaksai, but before they were well completed she was surprised to receive the voluntary submission of its rulers and offers of tribute. The expedition only lasted about a couple of months, but it led to important results.

It was not, however, till towards the close of the fourteenth century that either China or Japan could claim to be the acknowledged suzerain of the country. The Ming dynasty having fairly established itself upon the throne of China, the reigning Emperor sent to Corea demanding pledges of vassalage. The pledges were refused, and he prepared to invade the country. Whereupon a revolution took place in Corea, the King and his family were put to death, and Ny Taijo, the founder of the present Korean dynasty, who had instigated the revolution,

ascended the throne.\* He at once sent an envoy to the Nanking to notify to the Ming Emperor what had happened, to tender his loyal vassalage, and to beg his investiture as sovereign. The embassy was favourably received, friendship was fully established between China and Corea, and a number of Corean youths were sent to study in the Imperial College at Nanking. For some reason or other an embassy and presents were at the same time sent to the Shogun's Court at Kamakura, but no move was made by Japan. Her rulers were weak or fighting among themselves, and for the next two hundred years China enjoyed the suzerainty of Corea in peace.

In 1585, however, the Regent Hideyoshi revived the claim of Japan to the suzerainty, and sent to demand tribute. His claims were resisted, and in 1592 a Japanese force landed on the Corean coast near Fushan. China was as much the object of Hideyoshi as Corea. China was aware of this, and came to the aid of the Coreans, who were thoroughly unprepared. At first the Japanese were successful, they overran the peninsula, and the Chinese were hard pressed. The war dragged out its slow length till towards the close of 1598, when the Japanese, who in the meantime had been completely worsted, were compelled to withdraw, and China remained in undisputed possession. One effect of the invasion was to leave, as Mr. Curzon remarks, 'a heritage of wounded pride and national antipathy in the breast of Coreans, which three centuries have not availed to erase.'

For some time after their retreat the Japanese were too busy with their own internal affairs to pay much attention to Corea.

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\* Mr. Griffis tells the following not uninteresting story about him :—  
 'One day while in the woods, his favourite bird, in pursuing its quarry, flew so far ahead that it was lost to the sight of its master. Hastening after it the young man espied a shrine at the roadside into which he saw his hawk fly. Entering, he found within a hermit priest. Awed and abashed at the weird presence of the white-bearded sage, the lad for a moment was speechless ; but the old man, addressing him, said : "What benefit is it for a youth of your abilities to be seeking a stray falcon ? A throne is a richer prize. Betake yourself to the capital." ' Taijo, of course, took the hint, went to the capital, became general of the Corean army and son-in-law to the King, and accomplished the revolution. He was the founder of Söul, and is said to have instituted many reforms.

But in 1618 Iyemitsu summoned the Koreans to renew tributary relations and to pay homage to him at Yedo. Five years later he addressed a letter to the Korean King, styling himself Tai-kun, or Great Prince. Söul, China notwithstanding, responded to his call, and sent an embassy with congratulations and presents. The embassy continued to be sent year by year, but at the expense of Japan. At last, in the year 1790, owing to the enormous expense of the barren compliment, the Korean envoys, to whom the mission had become a pleasant excursion, were invited to proceed no further on their journey than the island of Tsushima, situated about half-way between the two countries. There they were entertained by the So family of daimios, who were allowed a stipend in gold kobans for the purpose out of the Imperial Treasury. The last of these missions, which were almost purely complimentary, and implied little or nothing in the way of political subordination, was despatched in 1832.

The ascendancy which China obtained by the submission of Ni Taijo, she continued to retain. When on their way to China the Manchu conquerors turned aside to Corea, and after devastating the country exacted a much more humiliating submission—a submission which has never since been surrendered, and down to the present has always been more or less enforced. The facts in support of this are so well put by Mr. Curzon that we cannot do better than transcribe his words. Going back to the middle of the seventeenth century, less than sixty years after the Japanese forces were expelled from Corea, he says :—

‘ While Hamel was in Korea, 1653-1666, he testifies to the constant visits of the representative of the “Great Cham,” and to the complete humility of the Korean Government. Annually a Tribute Mission wended its way by land from Söul to Peking, conveying the specified tribute, and receiving in return the Calendar, which it is the Imperial prerogative to prepare, and the mark of vassalage to receive. In the succeeding century the tribute was gradually reduced, and the embassy appeared at times to dwindle into a ceremonial function, carrying presents in return for the permission to trade at the frontier, rather than tokens of political submission. Nevertheless, during this epoch a violent disturbance took place if there was the slightest omission of prescribed deference ; and one Korean monarch was smartly fined for his omission of some punctilio. From the time of the Manchu’s invasion to the present day every King and Queen of Korea have received their patent of royalty from the Court at Peking ;



and the historical tutelary position of China continues to be vindicated in the following manner.

‘In addition to the Imperial investiture, and to the annual despatch of the Tribute Mission from Söul, which is still maintained—although a practical mercantile aspect is now lent to the proceeding by its being utilised for the export to China by the Chung In of the King’s red *ginseng*—the name of the reigning monarch of Korea is also given to him by China, and the era specified in Korean Treaties is that of the accession, not of the King, but of his Suzerain, the Emperor. The King of Korea is now allowed to wear the Imperial yellow. When the Imperial Commissioners arrive from Peking, he is required to proceed outside of his capital in order to receive them, the Chief Commissioner being of higher rank in the Chinese official hierarchy than himself : and I have previously spoken of the ornamental archway outside the west gate of Söul, at which the vassal prince receives the convoys of his Suzerain. When any notable events occur in the Court at Peking, they are communicated to the vassal Court, and are the cause of respectful message either of condolence or of congratulation from the latter. Similarly, if any death occurs among the leading members of the Royal Family at Söul, an official intimation of the fact must be sent to Peking.

‘When the late Queen Dowager of Korea died in 1890, the King deputed a mission at once to report the fact to the Emperor ; and, in petitioning the latter to dispense with the ordinary ceremonial of a return mission to convey the condolences of the Suzerain, because of the difficulty that would be experienced by Korea in consequence of her financial embarrassment in carrying out all the prescribed ceremonies, he made the following statement of his position *vis-à-vis* with China :—“Our country is a small kingdom, and a vassal State of China, to which the Emperor has shown his graciousness from time immemorial. Our Government was enabled to survive the political troubles of 1882 and 1884 through the assistance received from the Throne, which secured for our country peace and tranquility. Since His Majesty has been good enough to confer these favours upon us, we should make known to him whatever we desire ; and whatever we wish we trust that he may allow, as to an infant confiding in the tender mercies of its parents.” These compliments, however, did not induce the Suzerain to forego one tittle of his traditional rights ; although he so far yielded to the Korean plea of poverty as to permit his Commissioners to travel by sea to Chemulpo, instead of overland, thereby greatly reducing the cost of the entertainment. An account of the minute and elaborate ceremonies observed on both sides has since been published with evident design by the Secretary to the Imperial Commissioners. The latter, it appears, and by other marks of condescension, suggested the omission from the programme of the State banquets, music, and jugglery, with which it was usual to entertain them. “Their motive for this suggestion was to show their consideration for Korean impecuniosity.” They

also declined to receive parting presents from the King, at which the latter "felt very grateful, and at the same time regretted the fact." When all was over the King sent a memorial to the Emperor, thanking him for his graciousness. "The sentiments of this memorial—in their sincerity and importance—are beyond expression in words, demonstrating that China's manifold graciousness towards her dependencies is increasing with the times. The Emperor's consideration for his vassal State, as evinced by his thoughtfulness in matters pertaining to the mission, is fathomless. How admirable and satisfactory! And how glorious."

'Such is the technical and official expression of the suzerainty of China which is observed to this day, and such are the evidences of the indisputable reality of that relationship.'

Strange to say the first to promulgate the idea that Corea is independent and not a vassal State of China were the Chinese themselves. This they did on three occasions—in 1866, when the French demanded an indemnity for the massacre of the French missionaries; in 1871, when the American Expedition under Admiral Rodgers prepared to sail against Corea to demand reparation for the murder of the crew of the 'General Sherman' in 1866, and to force a treaty upon the Korean Court; and again in 1876, when the Japanese proposed to send a similar expedition for a similar purpose. Subsequently Prince Kung discovered the mistake he had made in thus repudiating the Suzerainty of the Emperor, and anxiously strove to regain what he had theoretically lost. At last, after several diplomatic moves, while the negotiations which led to the signing of the Korean Treaty with the United States of America were going on, he insisted upon the King of Corea addressing the following despatch to the President, facsimiles of which were sent to the other Treaty Powers:—

'The King of Corea acknowledges that Corea is a tributary of China, but in regard to both internal administration and foreign intercourse, it enjoys complete independence. Now, being about to establish Treaty relations between Corea and the United States, on terms of equality, the King of Corea as an independent monarch, distinctly undertakes to carry out the articles contained in the Treaty, irrespective of any matters affecting the tributary relations subsisting between Corea and China, with which the United States of America have no concern. Having appointed officials to deliberate upon and settle the Treaty, the King of Corea considers it his duty to address this despatch to the President of the United States.'

The illogical character of this singular State-paper is obvious as is also the contradictory position which the King of Corea is made to take up. He is a tributary prince and yet he is independent. He enjoys complete independence both in the administration of his own country and in his foreign relations, and yet he is a vassal to China. Of his vassalage there could be no doubt. Up to the outbreak of the present war, the power of China in Corea was increasing. The real ruler of the country was not the King, nor his ministers, but the representative of China at the Court of Söul, without whose knowledge or consent nothing could be done.

The causes of the present troubles in Corea are too fresh in the public memory to need recapitulation. It is already clear that the real object of Japan is China, and that in its present attitude we have a revival of the spirit which led to the invasion of Corea in the sixteenth century under Hideyoshi. What the results of this second invasion will be remains to be seen.

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## SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

## GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (July, August, September).—Paul Heyse opens the July number of this magazine with the remarkable address on Goethe's dramas in their relation to the present stage, which he recently delivered before the general meeting of the Goethe Society in Weimar. He very clearly sets forth the reasons which, in his opinion, render the plays unsuitable for representation. His views, as they did at the time, may again arouse some opposition; but even they who sympathise with him least, will recognise the able manner in which he has dealt with his subject.—Another literary article of considerable interest is that which Jules Legras contributes, and in which he deals with Heinrich Heine's sojourn in Paris. On the strength of new and authoritative documents, the young French savant refutes, once for all, the charges so often brought against the poet, of having sold himself to the French Government.—Edward Hanslick closes his reminiscences—*Aus meinem Leben*—with an interesting exposition of his views as to the duties of a critic.—The number includes two contributions to the political history of Germany. Ludwig von Hirshfeld's essay, 'A Statesman of the Old School,' takes us back to the days of the Karlsbad Congress, whilst the extracts from Theodor von Bernhardt's diary recalls very vividly what he names 'The last days of the new era,' and shows Bismarck as the 'coming man.'—The lighter element is represented by a continuation of Salvatore Farina's 'Stempelpapier,' and by a sketch entitled, 'Ihr Mann,' of which the author is Marie von Bunsen.—The August part has several continued contributions—'Ein Staatsman der alten Schule,' 'Aus den Tagebüchern Theodor von Bernhardt,' and 'Stempelpapier.' In addition to this there is a somewhat bold, but certainly interesting article—*Über das Gähnen*—in which W. Henke propounds a theory to account for the phenomenon of yawning.—Pastor Otto Pfeleiderer has a very able essay in which he deals with the German character as illustrated in religious matters.—At the head of the table of contents, though mentioned here last, is one of Ernest Wichert's old-fashioned, but charming stories, entitled 'der Herr Pathe'—the Godfather. It is concluded in the August number, which also brings one of Rudolf Lindau's delightful novelettes, 'Der Verlorene Freund.'—An article

of both literary and 'topical' interest is contributed by Arthur Milchhöfer, who, on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of Ernest Curtius's birthday, gives a sketch of the historian's career and an estimate of his work. This is followed by a literary essay bearing the signature of Friedrich Curtius, the octogenarian's son. Its subject is the political conflict in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*.—A paper which educationists will read with interest and profit, is that which Friedrich Paulsea devotes to German Universities, and in which he considers them under the twofold aspect of seats of learning and laboratories for scientific research.—A short, but valuable paper on the Korean question is contributed by Herr M. von Brandt, formerly Ambassador in China. As might perhaps be expected, it is not altogether favourable to the Japanese; but, due allowance being made for that, it contains valuable information as to the facts of the old-standing question between the two great Eastern powers.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (July, August).—A set serial novel; and two novelettes bring light literature well in the foreground of the first of these numbers. Herr Königsbrun-Schaup, 'Die Bogumilen,' so far as it has gone is most interesting, and gives a very vivid picture of Austrian life. The shorter stories, of which the authors are, respectively, Otto Roquette and Gabriele Reuter, are also good of their kind.—In an article entitled, 'Eine Fremdherrschaft,' Julius von Pflugk-Harting gives a sketch of the French occupation of Hamburg. The author displays a most unedifying amount of national animosity. It so far affects his facts as to make him say that the beginning of the present century marks the promotion of France from the rank of a 'National State' to that of a great Power (*Weltreich*).—Goslar and the island of Rugen are excellently described, the one by August Trinius, the other by Rudolf von Gottschall. Both are profusely illustrated, and are well up to the high standard which this periodical has set itself as regards contributions of this kind.—The life and work of Gounod are reviewed in a well-written and appreciative article by Otto Gumprecht. The study is accompanied by a good portrait of the composer.—The most noticeable contribution to the August number is the article which A. Speir devotes to the painter, Franz Stück. From the point of view of literature as well of artistic criticism, it is excellent; but considerable interest is added to it by the admirable series of illustrations which accompanies it, and which helps very materially to the appreciation of the study.—A very short paper by Paul Schellhas is devoted to the Etruscans, about whom, however,

it does not supply any new information; his paper is rather a summary of what has already been written about them.—Marcus Landau writes about Chateaubriand, but does so without much sympathy or originality. The article may be put down as mere padding.—With Herr Woldemar Kapen as guide, the reader has an excellent opportunity of making a most interesting excursion to Mount Vesuvius.—In both the numbers there are the usual literary notices and news.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 1, 1895).—This number, we regret, has come to hand too late for us to do more than merely note its contents. The list, however, will, we think, attract attention to it. The first article is by Herr Kölbing, the head of the theological seminary of the 'Brüdergemeinde' in Gnadenfeld. It is entitled 'Studien zur Paulinischen Theologie.' From a summary glance over it it appears to be an effort to present Paul's teaching, on at least two vital points, the *dikaïosunē theou*, of Rom. i. 17, and the *hilastērion* of Christ, of Rom. iii. 25, in the light of Paul's eschatology. His eschatology had not a little influence on his acts as a follower of Jesus and an active apostle of his gospel, and it would be very strange if its influence did not also affect his ideas and conceptions of Christian truth as well.—Dr. Otto Zöckler discusses at considerable length the interesting and now much debated question, 'Wo lag das biblische Galatien?' The other articles are 'Johannes von Biclaro,' by Dr. Franz Görres; 'Das Prinzip der pastoralen Moral,' by Professor F. Zimmer; 'Das Glaubensbekenntnis in einer Bern'er Handschrift aus dem 7-8 Jahrhundert,' by Professor Bratke; 'Luther's Ordinationsformular in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt,' by Dr. Rietschel; and 'Ueber Erklärung des Gewissens durch Autonomie,' by Herr Gennrich.

#### RUSSIA.

VOPROSI PHILOSOFII I PSYCHOLOGII (Questions, Philosophical and Psychological) begins its twenty-second number by an article by P. G. Boborikin on 'Formulae and Terms in the sphere of the Beautiful.' This, however, as it deals with the formulae and terms used in Russ, it is difficult properly to represent briefly or adequately in another language than Russ. The author, however, devotes some interesting paragraphs to Friedrich Schiller, more especially in regard to his work and position both as a poet, and as one who, step by step, as he advanced in his art, as poet and dramatist, sought to give an adequate account to himself of those principles of the Beautiful in accordance with which he strove to embody it in his



creations. Our author then passes on to deal with the theory of Art as a pursuit, which must be followed for its own sake, and as it were disinterestedly, as one of the terms on which he dwells in his discussion. In following up this he refers with approval to an utterance of Plato's in the 'Hippias Major,' in which Socrates makes use of an exceedingly clear formula and *not d'ordre* as to what is the psycho-physiological element of the artistic. 'The beautiful is that which is pleasant to us by hearing and sight.' From Art, for Art's sake the author passes on to disinterestedness, as also a term in Art, and then to the creative faculty, an element in Aesthetics.—The second article is a continuation of Prof. Kozloff's papers on 'French Positivism,' which are here concluded. The special title of paper is 'The Semi-positivists—Guyau and Tard.' Prof. Kozloff considers that the rather full notice which he gave of Fouillée entitles him to treat Guyau somewhat more briefly. Of course, he does not hold that M. Guyau is very much a repetition of Fouillée; but he considers that owing to his close friendship with that philosopher, and the influence exerted upon him by this close relationship, there was a close analogy between the careers of the two thinkers, which made itself visible in a common direction of thought and a similarity in the essential points of their philosophical tenets. Indeed, as a final result they may be said to be marked out from one another by two prominent qualities; the first, their marked individuality of character, and the second, the special peculiarities of this individuality.—The article following on this is a lengthened controversy which it is not possible to expound within reasonable limits.—The next article is a continuation of, and the finishing part of the formerly noticed paper on the 'World conception of the Circle of Stankevitch, and the poetry of Kolzoff.' The article opens with some notes on the doings of Cerebrianski, who, as previously noticed (See *S. R.*, April, 1894), was a pupil in the School for the Clergy in Woronezh, and an enthusiast in poesy, music, and art. After professing philosophy in this school in Woronezh, he passed into the Moscow Medico-Surgical Academy. The whole of the circle, including friends at a distance, such as Bjelinsky in St. Petersburg, were ardent disciples of the *Natur-philosophie* of Schelling, and here we have some notices of their enthusiastic doings, more especially in regard to music. All were enthusiasts on the subject, but Cerebrianski, as became a Professor of Philosophy, was looked upon as taking a leading part. He expresses himself thus in regard to music—'The Poet.' 'Yes!' writes he, in conclusion, 'Music is the universal ideal of the language of Nature. Its

accords go out until they become accords of the whole world. Genius in man serves them in Nature. He collects tunes, sowing them abroad in infinite space, and bringing them to his ear, he animates them by the life of his own heart and phantasy. Notation and strings are the characters, the words only removed from determination by the individual, and remaining in a musical poetical universality. The strings of Genius vibrate in the life of the whole world, in the roar of the wild beast, in the breathings of the zephyr and the boom and the many tuned laughter of the waves. Touching the strings, the musician touches the countless multitude of the world-strings. The force of sound is, as it were, light wings to bear the soul into the life of the unlimited.' Another member of the circle, or one who came into contact with it, was Nadeshdin, Bachelor of Divinity and Professor of Art and Archæology in Moscow University, where in 1832 to 1835, he lectured on Art and its various relations. A designation of his is preserved of Art as the world-structure in miniature. The lectures of Nadeshdin excited as much enthusiasm as those of Prof. Pavloff, another member of the circle in the same University, whom the writer of the article describes as in some sort an 'antipodes' to Nadeshdin. Nadeshdin with his enthusiasm was very 'viewy' about a great many subjects such as Art, affected by the Greco-Roman mediæval and modern times; nor did he fail to put the question, living so far back as he did in the old despotic days of Russian history, as to the worth of the times in which he lived! The circle, narrow as it was, had its critics within itself. In the midst of this circle of Schellingists, the young poet was duly esteemed, as setting the Natur-Philosophie to Music, and our author makes sundry extracts, wherein he points out, as was indeed done at the time, that the poems of Kolzoff were redolent of the influences around him. Another influence of the Schellingism was the mysticism which grew upon the poet.—The final article, by M. Tokarski, is on Exorcism by means of arrows exercised by Tibetan Lamas, of which the author was a witness in Kiachta in 1889, and which he carefully describes and seeks to prove to have been in the phenomena he witnessed wrought by Hypnotism.—This is followed by some four articles of a special nature, the usual reviews of books and bibliography.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL—*Russian Opinion*—(June, 1894).—A. P. Tchaikoff leads off with a further instalment of his Itinerary and description of 'The Island of Saghalien.' The present war between China and Japan lends interest to everything which concerns this important island. The older among

our readers can remember when this island was accounted, rightly or wrongly, as Japanese property. Now it is indisputably Russian.—‘Poetry’ in the present single number is represented by L. M. Medveydeff only.—‘The Indian Ocean,’ its present, and probably future, is a serious paper by M. I. Veynewkoff.—The article on ‘Labour in Manufactories and Professions,’ by K. I. Toomskoi, is still continued.—‘Leon-Battista Alberti,’ and his relation to Science and Art, is an able essay by M. S. Koreylin.—‘A Few Remarks on Naturalism in Art’ by the foreign reviewer V. A. Goltseff are, as may be expected, as good as they are brief.—Another and final article on ‘Peasant Economy and Emigration’ is given from the pen of K. R. Katchorofski (not Kotchoorofski, as in July number).—‘Historical Method in Biology;’ the natural-history view, is it an abstract idea or a real fact? a question propounded by K. A. Timiryahzeff, is contained in a brief paper of fifteen pages.—‘Church and State in Geneva of the Sixteenth Century, during the Epoch of Calvinism,’ by R. U. Whipper, is a paper that might have been expected in a Scottish rather a Russian Review.—‘Romances and Tales of Eliza Ozheshkoff’ is a continuation of the appreciative summary thereof by M. K. Tsebrikoff.—‘Morals of Different Nations,’ by I. N. K., is still continued.—‘Outlines of Provincial Life,’ by I. I. Ivanewkoff, still maintain their interest.—‘Home Review’ gives, as usual, a summary of domestic events of general importance, and on the present occasion deals largely with educational items. A brief necrology of the writer N. M. Astireff is appended.—‘Foreign Review’ is brief, but varied.—‘First Decade of the Society for the Care of Indigent and Homeless Children in Moscow’ tells its tale in its title, and shows that in Russia, as elsewhere, the poor are always with us.—The ‘Bibliographic Division’ contains notices of thirty-seven works.

#### ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA.—(July 1st.)—The poet Carducci commences in this and continues in several following numbers a long dissertation on Tasso’s ‘Aminta’ and the old pastoral poetry. He denies to the Greeks and Romans any pastoral poetry proper.—R. de Cesare contributes many pages of description of the work of Dr. Schloezer, and the end of the Kultur-Kampf.—In an article entitled ‘How did Correggio live?’ Professor Rondani gathers together many particulars relating to Correggio’s private life. He succeeded in art while still very young, travelled afar and examined many celebrated paintings.

He commenced his celebrated picture of St. Francisco before he was twenty-one years of age. In 1520 he married a girl of eighteen, the daughter of a soldier who had died on the field of battle. He had no other wife, and by her he had four children, of whom two must have died in infancy. The remaining son became a painter like his father, and the remaining daughter married. From 1514 till his death in 1534, Correggio worked industriously and incessantly, living mostly in Parma or its neighbourhood.—Signor Bricchetti gives a description of the Galla country now under the protection of Italy, and translations of some African popular songs.—A new and not agreeable story, 'The Indifferent,' by Matilde Serao, is commenced in this and concluded in a following number.—Luigi Palma continues his description of the Sicilian Constitution in 1812.—Guido Bragi writes on Adolfo Bastolo, the critic.—C. Baer furnishes an article on Prince William of Prussia, Regent, and the Italian war of 1859; concluded in the next number.—(July 15th.)—R. Bonfadini writes a monograph on Sadi Carnot.—T. Cassini concludes his chapters on the Italian poet, Monti.—A. Venturi describes the exhibition of paintings at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, from which, he says, the Italians ought to derive a lesson on care for works of art.—A. Chiarini describes the classic schools in Naples from 1860 to the present time.—R. Galli contributes a paper on 'Venice and Rome,' what he calls a new page of history from the 6th to the 12th centuries.—(August 1st.) Signor Bonghi criticises the *Apostrophe* to the Pope, made by the Archbishop of St. Paul, U.S., in his speech at Baltimore. Bonghi points out the defects in the Catholic Church and the Pope's opinions. He considers that the Archbishop's views are more human and more practicable than the Pope's. Bonghi's opinion of the world at the present time is that it is progressing towards goodness, and that Christianity is not destroyed.—\* \* \* contributes a long article with many quotations from a book recently published, 'Le Comte de Cavour et la Contesse de Circourt.' Anastasia de Circourt, a lady of Russian noble birth, was early on intimate terms with Cavour's mother and aunt, and became acquainted with the Count himself when he was travelling in France in 1835. She received him with all the warmth of his mother's friend, and grew very fond of him, while the young man felt for her 'an affection mingled with deep respect.' In 1836 the Countess and her husband settled in Paris, and when Count Cavour came there on a second visit in 1837, he found her in her new house in the Rue des Sausayes, where she introduced the young Piedmontese to the most distinguished men of the time, and to the aristocratic circles of

Rue St. Germain. The Countess's *salon* was one of the most attractive of the period. The Countess and Cavour kept up a lively correspondence, now published for the first time, from 1835 to 1861, and after the death of Cavour, the Countess continued writing about him to Nigia up to 1863. After the affair of Villafranca, the correspondence languished on the part of Cavour, who, it is said, was not the same man and seemed aged all at once by several years. But the Countess continued to write to him, and later on Cavour again took up his pen, describing his country life at Leri, whither he had retired. The Countess's admiration for Cavour became almost fanatical. She wrote to Nigia a very touching letter on receiving the news of Cavour's death. She seemed only to exist in the memory of her distinguished friend, made propaganda for 'New Italy,' and wrote and thought of scarcely anything but Cavour.—Countess Lovatelli writes on the ancient cult of *Bona Dea* in Rome, a goddess who was venerated with mysterious rites, and who in some measure corresponded to Proserpine and Ceres, the feminine and generative principles of nature. — Another writer on the reform of the classic school is G. Chiarini. — V. Z. Biareco renders a seemingly dry subject, 'The Metre, the Kilometre, and the Minute,' very pleasant and interesting. — R. Erculei commences the history of Donna Ersilia Cortese del Monte, a Roman lady of the 16th century; concluded in following number.—(*August 15th.*)—G. Gorrini writes on the Corea and the war between China and Japan.—L. Lioy sends a pleasant article on the socialism of animals, quoting the systems of many kinds of beetles, flies, ants, and other insects, and even of foxes.—A. Baccelli has something to say of Pope Pio II.'s memoirs.—(*September 1st.*)—G. Boglietti commences some chapters on Italian Socialism, and the recent movement in Sicily and Naples.—P. Fambri notices at length some new books on the Venetian, Paolo Sarpi.—Short novels in this and previous number furnish light reading.—L. Celli sends the first part of a study of the military ordinances of the Venetian Republic in the 16th century.—D. Zanichelli discusses the French system.—G. Mancini tells us a great deal about the artificial production of rain.—(*September 15th.*)—Besides continuations of articles in former numbers, we have only to note here papers on the railway problem and instrumental music in Italy. There is besides a tale entitled 'Dolcetta's Marriage.'

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (July 1st).—F. Nunziante describes the emigrant instinct in the human race; and L. Ferraris writes on penal scepticism, the doubt that exists as to the efficacy of



prisons in reforming individuals, and the still greater doubt whether punishment is of any avail.—Aeggotos describes the gist of the question of Established Churches in the Great Britain.—R. Corniani describes active and non-active political parties in Italy.—(*July 16th.*)—G. Jachiero sends a long and learned article on the work and system of P. Paolo Vergerio, surnamed the Senior, who lived in the 14th century.—G. Grabinski begins a review of '*Le Conclave.*'—G. Calchi-Novate contributes a lecture on divorce.—G. Berthelet discusses the Conservative Catholic party.—The 'Review of Foreign Literature' notices a number of English books, giving much space to Sir Richard Temple's '*Life in Parliament.*'—Signora Merlo commences a serial novel entitled '*Poor Dora.*'—(*August 1st.*)—V. Ausidei has an interesting article on Umbrian lyrics.—E. Verga criticises Pierre de Nolhac and his poems on Italy.—L. D'Isengaro unearths a song-book, written by Lorenzo Costa, a poet of the beginning of this century, which was hidden in the family archives until now.—G. Marcotti describes the country of the 'Little Russians' in Galicia.—(*August 16th.*)—Isabella Anderton contributes an appreciative paper on Rudyard Kipling, introducing him to Italians.—V. Marchese writes on the new science of armies.—(*September 1st.*)—P. Manasei describes the agrarian laws in Italy.—G. Morando introduces to Italian readers the '*International Journal of Ethics*,' published at Philadelphia, and directed by a staff of celebrated writers, among whom is an Italian, Professor Barzelotti. The writer of the article describes this journal at full length, arguing on the subjects presented, and protesting against some affirmations by Archbishop Satolli in his paper '*Italy and the Papacy.*'—The dialogues on the Temporal Power, by G. Cassani, still run on.—G. Marcotti sends a critique of the book '*Caffaro and his Times*;' and G. de Negri writes on the tax on petroleum.—V. Grossi describes his 'impressions of travel' of Rio de Janeiro.—R. Corniani writes an article entitled '*Shall we abolish Juries?*' He is in favour of such abolition, but sees no hope of it.—E. Piotelli discusses the reform of the classic school in Italy.

LA NUOVA RASSEGNA (August, September) contain: 'Territorial Recruiting,' 'Shelley's Women,' 'Reform in Secondary Instruction,' 'The Predecessors of Farini,' 'Cesar Pascarella's Designs,' 'Full Powers,' 'The Soul in Infants,' 'Election Lists,' 'A New Anthology,' 'Evolution and Socialism,' 'American Folk-Lore,' 'The Popular Poetry of Brazil,' 'The Beliefs, Opinions, and Prejudices of Crispi,' 'Hygienic Service,' 'Giorgio De Naves,' 'Language and Thought,' 'The Scenery of Basil



Lacatelli, 'The Round Table of Arthur and the Breton Legends,' 'Ad Aquas Salvias.'

IL PENSIERO ITALIANO (September) contains: 'Leo Tolstoi and his Political Opinions,' 'Agrarian Credit,' 'The teaching of French in Italy,' 'Religious and Scientific Morals as regards the Problem of Population,' 'Providence,' 'The Measure of Value,' 'A Criticism of Critics.'

RIVISTA STORICA ITALIANA (No. 3, for 1894).—'Conspiracies and Law-suits in Lombardy in 1830-35,' 'The Story of the Lucanis,' 'Religious Sentiment in the Middle Ages,' 'The Arrest and Death of Count di Carmagnola,' 'Notes of a Bibliography useful to the History of the Napoleonic period,' 'Forty Letters from Murat to his Daughter Letitia,' 'The Cities and Castles of Istria,' 'Procida from its Origin to Modern Times.'

REVISTA DELLA TRADIZIONE POPOLARI ITALIANI (September).—'Traditions of Terranova Pausania,' 'Southern popular Poetry,' 'Sardinian Sacred Legends,' 'The Madonna of the Seven Veils,' 'The Fay Alcina and the Talking Bird,' etc.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE (No. 11, 1894).—E. Pércopo continues the publication of his 'Notes on the writers and artists of the Arragon times,' by a chapter dedicated to the residence in Naples of Fra Giocondo of Verona, the famous architect, engineer, sculptor, philologist and antiquary—a universal man. He came to Naples about 1489, sent for by the Duke of Calabria, and remained till the end of 1495, when he followed Charles VIII. to France. He completed in Naples the building of the palace of Poggioreale, commenced by Guilano of Milan, and at the death of the latter, took his post as chief architect. In 1492 he drew on 20 parchments the plan and design of some existing fortresses, and illustrated with 126 designs two books by Francesco of Siena.—Schipa's monograph on the Duchy of Naples is continued, as also two other serial papers.

LA RASSEGNA (July).—Financial politics.—The Bank of England during 1893.—Mineral waters.—The longevity of trees.—The Chioggites on the Waters of Zara.—The juridical organisation of farms.—The Parliamentary Syndicate.

LA CULTURA—(July, August, 1894).—contain; 'The last word of a Great Man' (Renan) by B.—Mantica's 'Gay Rhymes,' by G. Zarmoni.—'Horace's Odes,' by G. Manera.—'The Norwegian Drama,' by A. G. Auratucci.—'Three verses by Petrarch,' by A. Gianetti.—'The Century and the Church,'

by B.—'Translations of Homer's Odes,' by Zama.—'The Home School,' by R. Pércopo.—'First imitation of Accadia,' by Zannoni.—'A French Custom,' by B.—Notes and Reviews.

THE REVIEW OF POPULAR TRADITIONS—(Year 1, No. 8).—The Nurrese legend of San Giuliano and Monte Cristo.—The Lodigian legend of the Cà of Mosto.—A Genoese legend.—The Devil's Stone.—A legend of the moon.—The legend of the climbing gourd.—The Stone of Arzolas Oschiri.—Popular Calabrese legend.—The blessed Henry of Comentina.—The legend of *Lupo Cavo*.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO (No. 2, 1894).—Contains: Inedited fragments from the Statutes of Lucca 1224-1232, by Carlo de Stefani.—Matteo Palmeri of Florence, 15th century, by A. Messeri.—A geographer of the Renaissance, by A. Mori.—Notices and correspondence from France, and reviews of Italian books.

LA RIFORMA SOCIALE—(July, August).—The colonisation of Eritrea, by L. Franchetti.—The legislation on factories in England, by R. W. C. Taylor.—The corn law and democracy, by Prof. Chindamo.—American Strikes, by Prof. Virgili.—Savings Banks, by L. Paolini.—The Anarchy Peril and Repressions, by Professor Grasso.—Old and New on Co-operation, by Prof. Brentano.—The Sulphur Crisis, by F. Ferrario.—Social Studies and the action of the Ruling Classes in Italy, by Prof. Alessio.—The Dangerous Re-action, by F. S. Nitti.—The Agrarian Law for Sicily, by Prof. Salvioli.—Current Accounts and Interest, by G. de Rosa.—The Unemployed, by U. Rabbeno.—The Results of Insurance for Invalids and Old People in Germany, by L. Lepetit.—Apropos of an Anarchist poem at Paris, by A. Ferraro.—Institutions of Public Charity, by Prof. Sitta.—Railways in the United States, by U. Rabbeno.—Chronicles and Reviews.

#### FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3, 1894).—The first place is given in this number to a translation (or perhaps it may be a French version, as no translator's name is given) of an article which appeared in the March number of the *Theologische Tijdschrift*, by Dr. L. Knappert. It is one of a series which has been appearing in the above magazine and in the *Bibliotheek van*

*Moderne Theologie en Letterkunde*—a magazine that came to an untimely end some months ago. This Dutch scholar has given considerable attention to the mythology of the Teutonic races, and in these articles is making known the results of his researches. One of his sources of information on this subject is the lives of the missionary saints—the records (half legendary perhaps, but for his purpose extremely useful and valuable) of their conflicts with the paganism they found flourishing in the provinces which they invaded or visited. The references to, or descriptions of, the deities worshipped or rites celebrated, which abound in these records, or in the story of the lives of these missionary monks, are often of a kind that throw much interesting light on the beliefs and practices current in the Germanic villages or districts where these men laboured. The last saint dealt with was Saint Lindger. Here, it is St. Gall, one of the companions of Saint Columban, in his mission to Australasia, and then to the district near Bergen. The eloquence and zeal of this monk effected great changes on the faith and life of those to whom he appealed, but it is not so much his missionary success that Dr. L. Knapert details, but the forms of idolatry he there found rampant, and the knowledge these give us of the primitive religion and mythology of the race to which they belonged.—The second article in this number is entitled ‘La reine de Saba.’ It is by M. J. Deramey. The form Saba is that given to the country in the Vulgate; but M. Deramey rejects it, and gives good reason for preferring Sheba or Seba. It appears in the Hebrew text under these two forms, so far as the initial letter is concerned,—*shin* being used in the one case and *samekh* in the other. But from the genealogical table in Genesis x., it would seem that these names indicate two distinct families, or districts (*compare* v. 7, and v. 28.) Our author discusses this question very carefully, but seems to regard the data at our disposal as insufficient to warrant a positive judgment on this point. He decides that whether these terms indicate one or two states, they were neighbouring if two, and were situated in the great peninsula between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and lay along the south-west corner of it. M. Deramey then gives the story of the Queen of Sheba’s visit to Solomon as it appears in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, and in Josephus. The bulk of his article, however, is taken up with a summary of a work in great part devoted to that visit, and which is a great favourite with the Abyssinians, is in fact a classic in that country, and has received a considerable amount of attention from European scholars. It bears the title ‘Kebra-Nagasht.’ The narrative is by a Christian monk, and was evidently written with a patriotic motive—was written to

show that through Solomon's marriage with the Queen of Sheba and the refuge found in that country afterwards for the sacred vessels of the Temple at Jerusalem when it was destroyed, the princes or kings of the Cushites who passed over into Ethiopia and founded the kingdom of Abyssinia, were the true heirs and successors to the glories of Israel. M. Deramey's summary of that part of the work which details the visit of the Queen to Jerusalem, and her marriage to Solomon, is followed by a careful estimate of the historical value of the legend.—M. G. de Blonay and M. L. de la Vallée Poussin furnish another instalment of their '*Contes Bouddhiques*,' translated from the *Dhammapada*.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 4, 1894).—M. the Abbé de Moor opens this number with the first part of what promises to be a very elaborate defence of the historical veracity and value of the Book of Judith. He sub-titles his study, '*Un épisode de la défection générale des nations tributaires de l'Assyrie pendant les années 652-648.*' That then is the period in which he places the events which the Book of Judith describes. After giving a brief account of the controversy which from the earliest period has raged as to the historical character of this work, and mentioned with warm praise some of the most notable of its advocates, he furnishes us with the programme of his projected study. 'We will treat first,' he says, 'of the condition of Media at the time of the reign of Phraortes II.; secondly, we will describe the state of Assyria when Phraortes made his attack on it; thirdly, we will endeavour to establish the identity of the Nabuchodonossor and of the Arphaxad of the Book of Judith with Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, and Phraortes II., king of the Medes; fourthly, we will examine the different expeditions undertaken after the defeat and death of Phraortes II., by the Assyrian general, Holofernes; fifthly, we shall describe the condition of the kingdom of Judah and that of the ten tribes before and after the last campaign of Holofernes against these countries, and the different stages of that campaign up to the siege of Bethulia; sixthly, we shall describe that siege and its incidents, with its disastrous issues to Holofernes and his army; and, finally, we shall set forth the consequences of this last enterprise of the Assyrian general so far as Judah and Assyria were concerned.' A full and tempting programme, certainly; but the learned Abbé sets himself bravely and confidently to his task. In this section of his essay, and within thirty-nine pages, he overtakes three of the above given 'heads,' and is well advanced with the fourth—reaches, in fact, the third campaign of Holofernes, and disposes of it. It may be inferred from this

that our author does not enter into too minute details, and does not indulge in superfluous verbiage. The crucial points in this section of his essay is the establishment of the identity of the Nabuchodonossor of Judith and Assurbanipal, and of Arphaxad and Phraortes II. M. de Moor finds it necessary here to assume not a little, and rely on hypotheses rather than established facts. The *data* of the Book of Judith are compared with the annals of Assurbanipal's reign, and a measure of resemblance between them is consequently made out. But why should Assurbanipal appear in Judith as Nabuchodonossor, or Phraortes as Arphaxad? M. de Moor presents two possible reasons for this, but neither rests on any solid historical ground; and very strong reasons may be given for rejecting both. But the author's pleading here should be carefully read and critically weighed. We certainly have here all that can be advanced in favour of his thesis.—M. the Abbé Z. Peisson continues his article on 'The Science of Religions.' In the previous number he dealt with the question as to the origin of religion. Here he faces the fact that religion presents itself to us in manifold and almost infinitely diversified forms, and posits the very natural question, 'Which of these is the true form, or the one nearest to the divine original?' He does not, however, adventure the task of categorically answering the question, but contents himself with showing how necessary the study of the various religions—the science of religions, in short—is to our getting to a proper solution of the problem. He gives a sketch of how the question has been treated by the traditionalists, and how it has fared more recently at the hands of the modern critical schools; and goes on then to show in what spirit he thinks it should be approached and investigated. What he here says will be highly approved of by every student of the question, who regards religion as one of the most potent and most important factors in the development and healthy direction of humanity.—(No. 5, 1894.)—M. the Abbé de Moor carries forward here his argument in favour of the historic character of the Book of Judith. He takes up here the fifth point of his programme—the condition of Judah and Israel at the period which he regards as that in which Holofernes invaded Palestine, and met his fate at the hands of Judith. The difficulty meets him here at the outset that the Judah of the Book of Judith knows nothing of kingly rule, but is governed by a body of elders with the high priest at its head. But he gets over this difficulty by assuming that there may have been an interregnum in those days, and finds a place for it when Manasseh was taken captive, according to the Book of Chronicles, by the King of Assyria, and lodged in Babylon. Other difficulties as they occur are



disposed of in a like manner. The bulk of this section of the essay is taken up with Holofernes' campaign against Judah.—The admirable paper read by Monsigneur De Harlez at the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago, on 'The nature and utility of the study of religions' is printed in this number, but as it has appeared in the full report of the proceedings of that Parliament in English, we need only refer to it. It will be already familiar to most of our readers.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Juillet, 1894).—The place of honour is deservedly given to a Life of St. Guénolé in the shape of a Breton mystery—a copy of which was found among the MSS. of M. E. Bernard, formerly vicar-general of Quimper by M. l'abbé Bernard, rector of Kerglof (Finistère.) The original MS. is in the National Library at Paris. The mystery is divided into two parts, each of which consists of two acts, with a prologue for each act, and an epilogue for each of the parts. It is written in Alexandrines, among which are intercalated verses of eight syllables. M. P. le Nestour carefully analyses the mystery and adds a translation of part of it.—Dr. Whitely Stokes follows with the first part of an article on the 'Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas.' The Dindsenchas is a collection of stories in Middle Irish prose and verse about the most noted localities in Ireland, and the Rennes Dindsenchas is a copy of this collection preserved in the Library at Rennes, which was probably written, so far as the stories are concerned, in the fourteenth or following century. As usual, we have both the text and translation.—M. E. Ernault continues his Breton studies under the title 'Sur l'Argot de la Roche.'—In the 'Bibliographie' Mr. Kuno Meyer continues his list of corrigenda to the text of the *Silva Gadelica*. There is also a review of the 1869 edition of the Lexico-Grammatical Supplement to Col. A. Troude's French-Breton Dictionary, from the pen of M. Ernault.—The 'Periodiques' and 'Chronique' are as usual full of information.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (No. 2, 1894).—The fourth section of the late M. Isidore Loeb's treatise, 'Réflexions sur les Juifs,' receives the place of honour here. These 'réflexions' throughout have been directed against the long existing, and still current, prejudices and accusations made against the Jews, and which have instigated so many persecutions from which they have suffered and made them so odious to thousands and thousands of their fellow-citizens and neighbours. Our summaries have indicated the nature of M. Loeb's defence of his fellow-religionists in the three preceding sections of his work. Here he



takes up and considers the truth, or falsity, of those charges against the Jews which are based on the special character of their religion, on their code of morals, and on their general conduct. Their religion, it is said, contributes to isolate the Jews, to make them bad citizens, unpatriotic, insubmissive to the laws of the country in which they live, and of a doubtful morality in their relations with all not professing their faith. These accusations are said to rest on the teaching of some parts of the Bible and of the Talmud, and to be verified in daily experience. M. Loeb here takes them up *seriatim*, and asks what amount of truth is in them, how far they find their justification in either the Bible or the Talmud, and how far experience attests their veraciousness. We should like to be able to quote here, and translate the whole of his spirited defence, for there is not a single sentence in it that is not of most weighty import to the formation of a judicial verdict on each one of those points,—to the formation, therefore of a correct historical judgment, and of a sane and wholesome estimate of neighbours and fellow-citizens. He does not anywhere here indulge in passionate denials of the charges made against the Jews, or make light of their faults in character or conduct, or of the extracts commonly quoted from Bible or Talmud. There is nothing of the special pleading vein, and no abuse of your adversary. It is throughout a calm historical examination of positive facts, and a judicial estimate of their teaching. That his religion occupies the foremost place in a Jew's heart is acknowledged; but it is shown by undoubted facts, and the testimony of witnesses best able to judge—of statesmen, generals, and men in positions of authority—that he is not made less loyal, less submissive to law, less patriotic, less moral by his religion, but infinitely more so. His exclusiveness, his refusal to mix freely with and adopt the language of the country where he has found a home, to intermingle with them in marriage and at meals, is fully explained, and, so far as it needs to be, is justified. The accusation is shewn, however, to be grossly exaggerated and misrepresented; and the blame for most instances of isolation and perpetuity of peculiarities is shown to lie not at the doors of the Jews, but at those of the Gentiles. The teaching of the Bible and the Talmud complained of is quoted, and its significance fairly and honestly dealt with. We are reminded, however, of the fact, which is almost invariably suppressed or ignored by the authors and vendors of these charges, that these quotations are but selections, and very bad selections from these works, and do not represent their general teaching, or the spirit of the faith embodied in these books. The special circumstances under which these quotations were written we are reasonably asked to con-

sider. The injustices their writers were then suffering, the provocations they were then receiving, the terrible hardships they, or their fellow religionists were then enduring—and these were oftentimes indescribably awful—were enough to fire human passion and human indignation to a white heat, and beget a hatred of their persecutors both fierce and lasting. But surely not the words of a man lashed into anger by the severest wrongs, and speaking in a mood of high strung passion—not these are to be taken as indicative of what the man *qua* man is, and to be for ever quoted as expressing the mood, and temper, and spirit of his race. Is the literature of any race ever so treated as is the Jewish here, or any race judged by the standard here applied to the Jews? But we must resist the temptation of describing further the contents of this masterly defence of the Jews, and recommend our readers to its careful study in the pages of this *Revue*, or the treatise itself when issued as a separate work. A series of tables of criminal statistics is given towards the close of this section of the paper which is as instructive as any part of it. This paper of M. Loeb is by far and away the most interesting to the general reader, and we may be pardoned, therefore, for giving to it all the space at our command. The other articles are of interest chiefly to Jews, and Jewish scholars and historians. We note the following: ‘Relations du marquis de Langallerie avec les Juifs;’ ‘*Le séfer sékkel Tob* abrégé de grammaire hébraïque de Moïse Qimhi;’ ‘Le livre de l’algèbre et le problème des asymptotes de Simon Motot;’ ‘Documents sur les Juifs de Wiener-Neustadt;’ and ‘Napoléon I. et la réunion du Grand Sanhedrin.’

REVUE SEMITIQUE D’EPIGRAPHIE ET D’HISTOIRE ANCIENNE. (No. 3.)—M. J. Halévy’s ‘Recherches Bibliques’ in this number embrace a series of brief studies, bearing on the geographical position of Haran, where Terah and his family are said to have settled on their emigration from Ur of the Chaldees, and which is referred to several times in Scripture; and also a series of ‘Notes pour l’interprétation des Psaumes,’ in continuation of his previous contributions towards that object. The first series of studies bearing on the geographical position of Haran cover ground already gone over by him, but furnish additional proofs in defence of the view as to its situation which he was led many years ago to adopt. He gives a brief summary of the reasons which led him to adopt that view then, and adds here the further considerations which have since confirmed him in regarding it as the correct one. The commonly held opinion has been that Haran was situated in Upper Mesopotamia, and was in fact the

celebrated town Harran, or Carrhae, near Orfa, or that it was in central Syria, seven days journey north of Galaad. Haran is definitely said in Gen. xxiv., 10, to have been in Aram Naharaim. This latter has been generally taken as identical with Mesopotamia, the territory lying between the two rivers, the Khabur and the Euphrates. But this district is in reality traversed by a third important river, the Balih. Schrader has attempted to get rid of this difficulty by limiting Aram Naharaim to the district between the Euphrates and Balih. M. Halévy combats this view also, and gives very weighty reasons for regarding the two rivers indicated in the term as those in the vicinity of Damascus, and the term Aram Naharaim as denoting the alluvial and extremely rich plain between the two rivers Amanah (not Abanah, as in our version) and Pharpar. Critics, M. Halévy thinks, have been led astray by confounding the descriptive phrase, applicable to *any* district lying between two rivers, with the classical transeuphratic Mesopotamia. He proceeds then to show how lucid many passages of Scripture become if this be accepted as the territory indicated by the phrase, Aram Naharaim. This he shows is especially true of the Balaam narratives. There is an insuperable difficulty in connection with Numb. xxii., 5, which at once disappears if the *nahar* there spoken of is not identified with the Euphrates, and, taken in connection with what immediately follows, the clause was read 'Pethor, which was situated on the river, and was the country of his (Balah's) own people.' The Balaam narratives are dealt with at some length by M. Halévy here, with a view to establishing their unity, as well as to illustrate and substantiate the opinion put forward as to the geographical situation of Haran, and of the Aram Naharaim of early Israelitic story. The 'Notes pour l'interprétation des Psaumes' suggest many simple emendations of the text where difficulties seem to have been created by copyists' mistakes. The sense is much improved in every case, but the method is subject to dangers and must be adopted with great caution. M. Halévy, however, is not likely to err by offering rash or hasty conjectures. His conservative instincts and his veneration for the sacred text are too strong to permit of that. He gives us here also a further instalment of his transcription and translation of the 'correspondence of Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV.,' and this concludes the series.—M. Clément Huart continues here also his 'Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure.'—M. J. B. Chabot furnishes the Syriac text of the Apocalypse of Esdras, taken from the MS. copy in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, No. 326. It is prefaced by a brief note descriptive of the MS., and stating where the other MSS. of this Apocalypse are deposited. Herr F.

Baethgen published in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* in 1886, the text of the MS. in the Royal Library at Berlin, with a German translation.—The other articles in this No. are 'Notes pour servir à l'étude des inscriptions lihyanites,' by B. Carra de Vaux; 'Note sur le monument funéraire appelé *nephesh*,' by Rubens Duval; 'Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie,' by J. Perruchon—a continuation of the series he has been contributing to this *Revue*; and 'Notes Sumériennes' and 'Notes Géographiques,' also part of a series, by M. J. Halévy. Under *Bibliographie* he gives an interesting notice of the last parts issued of the *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*.

#### SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (July, August, September).—The commercial relations between France and Switzerland are dealt with by M. Numa Droz in a long article bristling with statistics, and discussing a number of economical questions, interesting enough from the point of view of political economy, but by no means light reading. *That*, however, is amply provided for by the long opening instalment of what promises to be a capital novel, 'Le Sentier qui monte,' by M. T. Combe, and also by the concluding part of the humorous sketches, 'Château-Flottant.'—'Cellque j'ai vu au Nouveau-Monde,' explains itself. It is only fair to add, however, that Mme. Mary Bigot's reminiscences and experiences are as attractive in manner as they are instructive and interesting in matter, and they supply excellent reading.—As a piece of literary and critical work M. Henry Jacottet's study of Dante-Gabriel Rossetti takes high rank. It is thoughtful and well balanced, and will give foreign readers a very accurate notion of the poet's work and of his position in literature.—In his paper, 'La Taille et la Résistance à la Fatigue,' Dr. Chabrié examines, as the title indicates, the relation between stature and physical endurance. The details into which he enters are interesting and instructive, but the data at his disposal are too vague and too few to justify any very definite conclusion. Nor does there appear to be anything very striking in what the writer is able to put forward as the result of his comparisons and investigations—that, as regards men of the same country, the taller possesses a greater power of endurance than the shorter.—The August number opens with an article written by a specialist for specialists, 'Horsemanship in the Army.' It refers more particularly to the French army, but will be found full of details and suggestions which will be read with interest and with profit by those who have to do with the

training of cavalry in any country.—Though perhaps rather short, in comparison with the subject, the article which M. Sayous devotes to Dürer and Holbein, considered as portraitists, is remarkably well written, and being to some extent based on the most authoritative of recent French and German monographs on the two masters, will be particularly welcome to those whose reading has been more limited as regards this subject.—M. de Verdilhac's article, '*Curiosités bibliographiques et littéraires*,' is fully as interesting as the title would lead one to suppose. It is light and chatty, and full of excellent anecdotes excellently told.—'*The Duration of Human Life*' may at first sight appear a technical and rather dry subject, but M. H. Stilling has treated it in a popular and attractive manner, introducing a number of interesting cases and anecdotes, and has written on it a most interesting and thoroughly readable article.—M. V. de Flouant has an article in the September number which is sure to be turned to with considerable interest, for it deals with Japan. The Korean question is not, however, discussed, and does not even appear in it. What the author does is to trace the career of the empire of the Mikado from the time it set itself to adapt itself to western civilisation. The rest of the number is devoted to light literature, and to the usual delightful chroniques.

#### HOLLAND.

DE GIDS.—The August and September numbers are nearly half filled with the continuation and conclusion of Cyriel Buysse's sketches of Flemish country life under the title of '*Sursum Corda*.' The whole series of portraits of country people is monotonously repulsive, and one does not wonder that the principal character who had made it his aim to elevate and enlighten the circle in which he found himself placed, retires from the scene disgusted and despairing. He himself obviously wants elevating as much as the others. It is to be hoped that these strongly drawn but coarse delineations are not true to life.—'*The Extension of Towns*,' by Mr. J. V. Kips, (August) is a paper of much value. Starting from the fact of the gigantic increase of town populations—the Hague, for instance, had a population of 70,000 in 1851, and in 1893 over 174,000—he advocates the necessity of providing beforehand for this apparently inevitable development. The task belongs to the engineer, the architect, and the jurist. The engineer ought to arrange the districts, shops, warehouses, villas, workmen's quarters, and palaces, in the most convenient way, and contrive the easiest and most direct modes of access. The block



system, confusing and ugly, must be eschewed in favour of triangles and radiating lines, such as are to be found in Amsterdam, Brussels, Florence, etc. The architect must provide beauty. His rule must be to avoid endless perspectives, or open gaps at the end of streets because a prospect wholly closed to the eye is alone æsthetically justifiable. On this the charm of our ancient cities depends. Again, there must be no artificially contrived irregularities, but where there is a reason for irregularity it must be made use of. For instance, the crossing of avenues gives an opportunity for irregularly shaped open spaces. Then such spaces ought to be apparently closed, as are for example the Piazza of S. Mark at Venice, and the beautiful places round the Cathedral at Salzburg and those at Hildesheim. The abomination of a statue in the middle of a square where only a fountain or obelisk that is seen to equal advantage on all sides ought to be is demonstrated. Some interesting plans are given as illustrations. Finally, the task of the jurist is to give practical expression and actuality to the foregoing, perhaps the most difficult task of all. It is certainly a question of moment whether towns are to be allowed to grow without any order or arrangement, and to grow more hideous year by year, or whether they are to be made healthy, convenient and beautiful—Mr. Doedes' very interesting paper on Ian van Riebeck, founder of Cape Colony is concluded. (Aug.) His estimate of this fiery tempered rough and ready little hero of the 17th century is more favourable than Theal's in his short history of South Africa. His faults were common to all the men of his time, but the virtues, the energy and devotion to duty of this ex-surgeon are still an example. Most striking descriptions are given of the state of things in the colony when the European population mustered only 110 men, and 15 women and children.—Byvanck continues his article on Paul Claudel, and there is a readable review of modern music.—'The Scarcity of Gold,' by Mr. N. G. Pierson (Sept.) is an elaborate treatise on the currency question. The conclusion he comes to is that it is much to be regretted that in 1881 an international understanding was not arrived at. That opportunity, however, having been lost, he considers that, after all, things have not turned out so very badly. In no other country was so risky a trial made as in Netherlands and its colonies, a trial which during twenty years has worked with wonderful success. The assimilation of a standard almost entirely silver, or the equivalents of silver to gold, seemed a hopeless experiment particularly in Java, still it succeeded, and though the great declension in silver gives at present an uncomfortable feeling, there is no reason to be afraid. The difficulties of introducing



bimetalism he shows to be very serious, and considers it may mean only the revival of out of date economic theories. Scarcity of gold is not caused by the existing standard, and would not be cured by bimetalism. It has been caused from time to time by want of production, and there has been scarcity of goods, but a review of the world's finances shows that there is no real scarcity of gold, nor is that to be anticipated.—'The new suffrage law and the late elections in Belgium,' by Gittée, is a review of measures and parties by no means rose-coloured for liberals. The latest work of the Belgian Second Chamber has been the abolition of proportionate representation. The towns are now sacrificed to the country districts which are under the influence of the Romish priesthood. The only hope for the liberals is in refraining from their dissensions, which have led them into mistake after mistake.—'Concerning a dead Mandarin' is a curious yet poetical account of Chinese *post mortem* conceptions.—Another paper devoted to Leconte de Lisle and Walter Pater is entitled, 'Dead on the way to Apollo,' that god representing the natural, ever-shifting life, striving to attain perfection and beauty.—There is a review of Zola's Lourdes novel, which is pronounced the failure it was bound to be in the hands of this powerful realist. Such a subject, touching the mystic side of life and the most delicate spiritual problems, could not be properly handled by one to whom the outside of life is everything.

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## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

*The Divine Liturgies of our Fathers among the Saints, John Chrysostom and Basil the Great, with that of the Presanctified, preceded by the Hesperinos and the Orthros.*  
 Edited with the Greek Text by J. N. W. B. ROBERTSON.  
 London: David Nutt. 1894.

This is a revised and enlarged edition of a volume which was published in 1886, and received the approval of various dignitaries of the Orthodox Church. To the liturgies of SS. Basil and Chrysostom there have now been added, with very great advantage for Western students and travellers, the Hesperinos and Orthros (Vespers and Lauds) for the eve and morning of Sundays and Feasts, the Liturgy of the Presanctified, and a number of the changeable forms for different times. It is a pity, however, that passages of Scripture such as the Odes (p. 175 *et seq.*) are only indicated by reference: no one in this country knows them by heart in Greek. Again, the inaudible prayers are inserted in the middle of the audible ones, in a way which (although strictly following the text of the Euchologion) would make it almost impossible for a stranger to follow the service, and this difficulty is increased by printing them at full length in Greek as well as English, just as if they would be heard by the congregation, which they never are. The Greek text is handsomely printed, and accurate so far as we can see. The translation is in some respects disappointing. The editor does not say whether it is meant for devotional use or for the assistance of liturgical students. In either case it might be improved in some points. Greek liturgical terms are simply transliterated without any attempt at explanation. Pages bristling with words such as Hesperinos, Ektene, Heirmos, Mystagogia, repel any but an expert in such studies. A translation professedly into English should not exhibit such forms as Exodos, I. Reigns, Abbakum the Prophet, the Precursor, etc.; and might be more in sympathy with the ecclesiastical terms used in the English language, and which are often merely the English names of the same things. Why, for instance, should the corporal be called the heileton? Mr. Robertson's translation of the Psalms seems innocent of any of the classical English versions. Sentences such as 'Come let us adore and fall down,'—'O Lord my God, Thou art become exceeding magnificent,'—make one wish that Mr. Robertson had been contented to follow the Prayer Book or Authorised version so far as the text allows. The same remark applies to his translation of the prayers, which adheres slavishly to the Greek, though here and there slips occur. *E.g.*, p. 11, 'us sinners and thine unprofitable servants' is hardly a literal rendering of *ἡμῶν τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ ἀχρηστῶν δοῦλων σου*: and there are not a few passages which must jar on the ear of any one familiar with *The Book of Common Prayer*, or Bright's *Ancient Collects*. A comparison of 'A Prayer of St. Chrysostom' with the version on p. 249 of Mr. Robertson's work will bear out what we say. At the same time Mr. Robertson deserves thanks for presenting these valuable liturgies in such a handsome and convenient form. His work should be welcomed by all who take an interest in liturgical studies.

*Genetic Philosophy.* By DAVID JAYNE HILL. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

Principal Hill's volume before us contains a series of admirable studies on the genesis of Matter, Life, Consciousness, Feeling, Thought, Will, Art, Morality, Religion, and Science. They are, so to speak, critical reviews of the history of the philosophical systems which have been offered in explanation of these things; and from the standpoint of one who belongs to no particular school of philosophy, but looks from a vantage point on all, and sees, or thinks he sees, how the confusion and strife of the schools have arisen, and how they may be allayed, if not absolutely put an end to. When one surveys, in however careless a way, the history of speculation regarding each and all of the points enumerated—sees how system has followed system in a long and seemingly never ending series—sees how unsatisfactory every new generation of philosophers finds the work of all that have preceded them (their work in turn to be found fault with by the next), one becomes bewildered, and wonders if the philosophy of Matter, Life, Consciousness, etc., will ever, or can ever, be produced, or discovered. Are these things inexplicable? or, are their investigators simply pursuing false methods of investigation? What are, or have been, their methods? and, may the explanation of the universal failure that has attended their labours not be that their methods have been faulty in the extreme? Principal Hill attributes their failure to faulty method, and not to the helpless obscurity or inexplicable mystery of the subjects in question. Philosophers have all along been guilty, he alleges, of reversing the only sane, safe, and possibly successful method of investigation—the only natural one. They have begun their labours where they should have ended. They have theorized when they should have been observing—have evolved from within themselves certain 'principles,' and then set about the helpless and hopeless task of squaring the phenomena with which they then found themselves confronted, with these 'principles.' When unscientific 'scientists'—if the phrase may be pardoned—pursued this same method, or something similar to it, their efforts were equally unsatisfactory and useless. So soon, however, as they adopted the rational, and now called 'scientific,' method the results were seen to be of the greatest possible value, and to be demonstratively accurate. This, Principal Hill here calls the genetic method—the method of tracing things to their genesis, and observing them in all their relations and actual details. Nothing is isolated, and so nothing can be thoroughly understood, or accurately comprehended, unless observed, or studied, in *all* its relations. It is only then that it is seen to be what it really is, 'the outgrowth of its own antecedents,' and a part or stage of a continuous whole. The volume before us shows us how the non-observance of this method has rendered the manifold, continuous, and laborious efforts of 'philosophers' so futile from generation to generation, while the observance of it by 'scientists' has produced of late such splendid and beneficent results. The whole volume is full of the most pregnant thought. Its style is clear. Its literary qualities render it fascinating throughout, and there is a fresh, healthy common-sense in all that is here said that makes the reading of it as wholesome as it is delightful.

*Philosophical Remains of George Croom Robertson, Grote Professor of Philosophy of Mind and Logic, University College, London.* With Memoir. Edited by ALEXANDER BAIN, LL.D., and T. WHITTAKER, B.A. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1894.

Though with very few exceptions the writings here brought together have all appeared before, the friends of the late Professor Croom Robertson have done well to collect them and to issue them in a separate form. Unfortunately, Mr. Robertson was cut off in his prime, and though he apparently meditated something of more importance than we have here, the state of his health and the multiplicity of his other engagements prevented him from carrying out the plans he seems to have at one time entertained or to accomplish more in the way of writing than a number of occasional articles. This is all the more to be regretted as such literary work as Mr. Robertson has left, is sufficient to show that had his life been spared and health permitted, his contributions to philosophic study might have enriched our literature to a much greater extent, and that by his death philosophy suffered a serious loss. Of the value of the papers here issued nothing need be said. They have already been appraised. Students of philosophy are well acquainted with them, and the opinion among them will only be that they are all too few. The exceptions referred to above are the lectures which the late Professor delivered at the Russell Institute in 1871 and at Manchester in 1873, the first on the English Mind and the second on the Senses, and a couple of introductory lectures delivered at University College, London. The articles on Analogy, Analysis, Analytic Judgments, Association of Ideas, and Axioms contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* are included. The remaining pieces have been collected from the pages of *Mind*. Dr. Bain contributes a brief memoir of Mr. Robertson, which besides giving a sketch of Mr. Robertson's career contains many interesting literary reminiscences and does justice to the skill and conscientious care with which he discharged the duties both of his Chair in the University and in the editorial Chair of *Mind*.

*A Study of Ethical Principles.* By JAMES SETH, M.A., Professor of Philosophy in Brown University, U.S.A. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1894.

As the title indicates, the aim which Professor James Seth has here in view is not to set forth a new system of Ethics, but to exhibit and discuss the principles on which any valid system of Ethics ought to rest and which it ought to develop. The volume divides itself into four parts, viz., an introduction in which the problem and method of Ethics are defined, and the relation in which it stands to psychology; Part I., in which the several types of Ethical theory, Hedonism, Rigorism, and Eudaemonism, are discussed; Part II., which deals with the virtues and duties of the individual and social life, and the ethical basis and functions of the State; and Part III., in which the author treats of the metaphysical problems of morality or the three problems, of Freedom, God, and Immortality. In the course of the discussion Professor Seth does good service in re-stating the doctrines of the ancient moralists. His handling of the speculations of the modern schools is acute and luminous. Between Hedonism and Eudaemonism he draws a sharp distinction, as also between the Science of Ethics and the Philosophy of Ethics. Though the author lays no claim to originality, his volume everywhere bears proof of freshness, vigour, and independence of thought, and will, there is every reason to believe, serve as an excellent introduction to the further study of the subject. It is not often that a philosophical work is so well written. Here and there the style becomes almost poetic. All the same, Mr. Seth has the art of putting his thoughts with the utmost clearness, and in a work on philosophy that is no small gain.

*Town Life in the Fifteenth Century.* By Mrs. J. R. GREEN. 2 vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

Hitherto the history of the municipal institutions of either England or Scotland has attracted comparatively little attention. A number of local histories have been written, and in Scotland a fairly large array of Town Charters and Records have been published, among others by the Burgh Record Society under the able management of Sir James Marwick, and by certain Town Councils and private individuals; but the history of the town life in either country in a way at all commensurate with its importance has not yet been written, nor, so far as we are aware, has it ever been so much as attempted. The reasons are perhaps not far to seek. For one thing, the labour which it would involve is probably, for this busy and un leisurably age, far too herculean; and for another, the materials are, for the most part, inaccessible. In the case of many towns it is to be feared that they are no longer recoverable, while as for those of the rest, the majority of them would seem to be hid or wasting away and to be scarcely known to exist. That large quantities of the requisite materials do exist seems to be certain, but judging from the notes scattered here and there in the reports of the Historical MSS. Commission, it would appear that with few exceptions, much requires to be done with them before they can be at all available for the purpose. In the two volumes before us Mrs. Green has made a solid and chivalrous attempt to break into this rude and undigested mass, and to reveal some of the treasures it contains. A history of Town Life or of Municipal Institutions they cannot be called. Nor is the slightest claim that they are such made. They contain a picture of English town life during the fifteenth century. If we were disposed to find fault we might complain of the omission of the word 'English' from the title page. References are made to the towns of France and Germany during the period, but the subject of the volume and that which is distinctly dealt with almost to the entire exclusion of everything else, is the life of the English towns. One might complain, also, that no reference, so far as we can remember, is made to the Scottish Burghs or to the Town life of Scotland, though the Towns or Burghs there were in many respects on all fours with those of England. They had the same periods of growth and decay, and have undergone similar revivals; they had the same struggles and the same victories; their customs and institutions were similar. They were acquainted with crafts and guilds and pageants; the 'ale-kenner' went about to test the strength and quality of the ale which was vended, and the town officer and others were always on the watch to see that no unauthorised individual exposed goods in the market, or opened a shop for their sale, though some of the towns enjoyed privileges which apparently no English town possessed, i.e., monopolies in certain industries. But to find fault would be ungracious, and no one who can appreciate the immense difficulties with which Mrs. Green has had to cope in the writing of the first English book on the subject, will be at all disposed. Taking all things into consideration the work seems to us of rare merit and execution and represents a world of labour. As we have said it contains a picture. So far as its broad outlines are concerned, and in many of its details, it seems to be perfectly veracious. At the same time we are not able to follow Mrs. Green in all her inferences and conclusions. Nor are we disposed to believe that in some of the details her presentation is strictly correct. For instance, her description of the relations between Town and Church, though true in particular instances, is not generally true. Even in the fifteenth century the relations between the Town and Church in England were as a rule, we believe, much more intimate than Mrs. Green



would apparently make out. Questions of law often set the clergy and towns-folk by the ears, but as Mrs. Green owns, the Parish Church was, as a rule, the centre of burghal life, and the existence of such societies as that of Corpus Christi, and many others of a similar nature, and as well, the thoroughly religious character of many of the guilds, would show that whatever dissensions arose between the Town and Church were only temporary and local. In the first volume we have a brief sketch of the industrial and commercial revolutions which came over the country, dealing for the most part with the external affairs and the internal government of the towns, which necessitated a discussion of the relation in which the burghs and cities stood to their superiors, and the struggle for freedom. In the first part of the second volume we have chapters devoted to an account of the inner life of the towns—crafts, guilds, markets, manners, sanitary arrangements and means of education, while in the remaining chapters the Common Councils of Southampton, Nottingham, Sandwich, and Norwich are singled out for separate treatment. The work is rich in particular instances and abundant in notes, and as a pioneer in a what may be almost called a new line of historic writing, is deserving of great praise.

*The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times.* By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., Hon. D.C.L., LL.D., etc. Vol. IV. Edited from Posthumous MSS., with Supplements and Notes by ARTHUR J. EVANS, M.A. Maps and Numismatic Plate. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1894.

This volume is a further reminder of the immense loss which England and English letters sustained now a little more than two years ago by the unexpected death of Mr. Freeman at Alicanto while still engaged on the great task he had set himself of recording for the benefit of English readers the story of the events which have happened on the shores of Sicily from the earliest times down to a comparatively recent period, or in his own words, down to not earlier than the death of the great Sicilian Emperor. The preceding volumes, one of which was published soon after his death, have already been noticed in the pages of this *Review*. The present volume has been put together from the MSS. Mr. Freeman left, probably not as he would have printed them himself, but in such wise as the most reverent regard could suggest. The editor has treated the text left by Mr. Freeman as sacred, neither altering nor adding to it. Passages wanting to carry on the story he has for the most part supplied in Mr. Freeman's own words from the book on Sicily which he contributed to the 'Story of the Nations' series. Whatever notes were needed have been supplied by Mr. Evans, who has not scrupled when anything newer than was beneath Mr. Freeman's hands was attainable to point out its bearing on the text. He has also added a variety of supplements and appendices for the purpose of supplying what appeared to him to be wanting. Of the manner in which the editor has discharged his duties there is no need to speak. The work has manifestly been a labour of devotion and love, and no pains have been spared to make the volume as complete as possible. Of the three chapters contained in the volume the first takes up the story of the tyranny of Dionysios at the point where it was let fall in the third volume, while the second and third carry on the narrative to the death of Agathoklés. In the Supplements he has added Mr. Evans treats of the monarchy of Dionysios, the Adriatic Colonies of that monarch and his Finance and Coinage. Another of equal interest shows the light which numismatics throw upon the Sicily of Timoleôn. Other MSS. than those Mr. Evans has used contain we are glad to learn



fairly connected accounts of the Roman and Norman conquests of Sicily. It is to be hoped that these will soon see the light under the hands of editors equally competent and painstaking as Mr. Evans.

*A History of Rome to the Battle of Actium.* By EVELYN SHIRLEY SHUCKBURGH, M.A. Maps and Plans. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

To write the history of Rome during the first seven hundred years of its existence in about as many pages is by no means an easy task. Much has to be merely touched upon, and much has to be altogether left out. The danger of giving too much prominence to this and too little to that is always present, and the greatest care has to be exercised lest the rule of proportion be violated, and the narrative become lop-sided or over-loaded in parts with details. When the late Mr. Green accomplished the task of compressing, within only a few more pages than are here employed by Mr. Shuckburgh, his elaborate and picturesque history of the English people, he accomplished what is on all hands recognised to be one of the most brilliant feats in historical writing. Mr. Shuckburgh's *History of Rome* will in all probability never attain to the same popularity. It is scarcely to be expected that it will. Still, it is a production which may deservedly take a place beside Mr. Green's. It is admirably arranged and proportioned, the different eras in the history of the Roman State, within the period prescribed, are distinctly marked off, and one has no difficulty whatever in following step by step the expansion of her power. That the influence of the Roman people was always increasing is a fact which Mr. Shuckburgh steadily keeps before the mind of the reader. He is never allowed to lose sight of it, and no matter into what details the narrative descends, he is continually made to feel that the story is that of a people who are continually reaching up, as if impelled by an irresistible fate, to be masters of the world. A great part of the narrative is of course taken up with military affairs, not however to the neglect of other and equally important matters. Constitutional history has received a large share of attention, being discussed in a series of chapters which bring it down to the time of the Gracchi, and afterwards with more or less fulness in connection with the development of foreign policy, and the changes in the relation of Rome to her neighbours and conquered provinces. Social and literary history are also dealt with, and at the end of each chapter Mr. Shuckburgh is careful to indicate the original authorities on which his narrative is based. As a rule he follows the most recent writers in his interpretation of their records, but his pages are here and there marked by a healthy independence, and on occasion he gives reason for dissenting from the findings to which they have come, and for the maintenance of his own. Mr. Shuckburgh's style is clear and forcible, and has a charm altogether its own. It is to be hoped that we have here only the first volume of Mr. Shuckburgh's work, and that in another he will tell the story of the Empire and of its decline and fall.

*Sources of the Constitution of the United States considered in relation to Colonial and English History.* By C. ELLIS STEVENS, LL.D., D.C.L. London & New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

An attempt has been made by a certain school of Constitutional writers in America to isolate the Constitution of the United States from all previous history, and to regard it as without sources or antecedents, and as a

purely political invention. Others, while admitting that it has antecedents, and is not a pure invention, prefer to look elsewhere than to England, and are disposed to maintain that the original home of most of the American civil institutions was Holland. At the head of these latter may probably be placed Mr. Douglas Campbell, who, in his *Puritan in Holland, England, and America*, denies that the American people are of English race, and bases his assumption on the fact that there were resident along with the English in the Colonies men of other races. Dr. Stevens here joins issue with both these classes of writers, and while admitting that some of the institutions of America, such as the free school, the use of a written ballot, and certain features of the land laws and of the township system, are traceable in part at least to Dutch influence, and though not included in the Constitution, have exercised an influence in moulding the American nation, maintains that the whole of the American Constitution is more or less distinctly traceable to English origin. To a writer so well versed in the Constitutional History of America and England as Dr. Stevens, the task was comparatively easy, and he has found no difficulty in proving, with an abundance of illustration, his thesis. His work is indicative of a movement which is going on in many parts of the United States, which may perhaps be taken as a proof that what Von Holst aptly calls 'the worship of the Constitution' is on the decay, and is giving place to sounder views. At any rate, Dr. Stevens' scholarly and carefully written volume is calculated to show how closely the British and American systems of Government are connected. At the same time it may have a salutary effect on this side of the Atlantic, where the United States are regarded by many as a land void of checks and bars to legislative enactments and constitutional changes. Dr. Stevens is at some pains to point out the strong conservative element there is in the Constitution of that country, and does not scruple to express the alarm with which many of his countrymen regard the endeavours of many to modify and destroy old English institutions, and to point out the baselessness of their belief that America sets the example of such destructiveness, and that all change is necessarily progress. Though by no means a large book, the work is a valuable contribution to the subject of which it treats, and at the present moment, when change is in the air, is deserving of careful study.

*Life and Letters of Erasmus. Lectures delivered at Oxford, 1893-4.* By J. A. FROUDE, Regius Professor of Modern History. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1894.

Mr. Froude has already written at considerable length about Erasmus, both in his *History* and in his *Short Studies*. The present volume, however, supplies much that is there wanting, and is a brilliant addition to the literature which deals with the history of the Reformation period in Northern Europe. For his materials Mr. Froude has depended for the most part on the letters of Erasmus, which are here abridged, condensed, and translated with rare skill and with the author's usual felicity of diction. Some attempt, as was necessary, has also been made to fix the chronology of the letters, a task not always easy, but which in the hands of Mr. Froude is made to yield considerable fruit, though here, perhaps, more than elsewhere in the volume, he has laid himself open to criticism. The style is decidedly colloquial, as it was almost bound to be, but is none the less pleasant to read. Three things come out most distinctly in the lectures—the religious condition of Europe, the character of Erasmus, and the marvellous effect of his writings. Here and there, too, are many admirable passages, as, for instance, the portraits drawn by Erasmus of

Sir Thomas More, Colet, and Archbishop Warham. His letters, too, from which there are copious extracts, are full of humour, and lose nothing of their original charm under the treatment here given to them. The delivery of the lectures must have formed an epoch in the history of the Modern School of History at Oxford. It is rare, indeed, that so brilliant a series has been delivered either there or elsewhere. The precarious condition in which the accomplished author is at present lying disarms criticism. It is to be hoped that the volume now before us is only the first of many similar ones.

*John MacGregor ('Rob Roy').* By EDWIN HODDER. Illustrated. London: Hodder Brothers. 1894.

Mr. MacGregor is known chiefly to the general reader as a canoeist, but, as Mr. Hodder here shows, and as many are already aware, he was something more. In his time he played many parts, and though, as Mr. Hodder admits, he was apt to 'go a little mad' over anything in which he was deeply interested, he deserves to be reckoned among those who have spent their lives in trying to do good, and probably amongst those who have a claim to be called philanthropists. Few if any of the movements in which he was engaged were not highly beneficial. Most of them certainly were. Take, for instance, the Ragged School movement, or that which resulted in the foundation of the Shoe-black Brigade. He may have been slightly erratic in some things, but on the whole his influence was for good, and his sincerity above suspicion. Mr. Hodder has written his life with skill. Perhaps it is a little too voluminous. Still, there is no lack of interest in its pages, and the reader is put in acquaintanceship with all the philanthropic works of the past generation, besides being carried over the greater part of the world in the company of the famous canoeist. The book is certainly worth reading. Among others who figure upon its pages are Lords Shaftesbury and Kinnaird, Bishop Wilberforce, and the father of 'Rob Roy,' who, by the way, was the organiser of the Royal Constabulary Force in Ireland, and earned the thanks of the Duke of Wellington for the way in which he accomplished that work.

*The Life and Letters of James Macpherson. Containing a particular Account of his famous quarrel with Dr. Johnson, and a sketch of the origin and influence of the Ossianic Poems.* By BAILEY SAUNDERS. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

A hundred years ago no literary man was better known than the subject of Mr. Bailey Saunders' biography; nowadays, however, he is scarcely known and few ever read the poems which secured to him an almost European fame. A pretty wide-spread opinion indeed long since set him down as an impostor. That he altogether deserved so hard a judgment may perhaps with some reason be doubted. At any rate the work he produced, translated, or invented, was not without its influence—an influence which few will maintain was not on the whole good. Certainly it quickened an interest in Gaelic poetry and had something like a freshening effect upon literature in general. Much has been written about Macpherson, but chiefly about his poems and their genuineness; but hitherto there has been no biography of him. Whether his biography deserved to be written is a point on which there may be a difference of opinion. He was not great, nor was there anything heroic about him, and if biographies should be written of only the great and heroic, he was not entitled to one; but, as Mr. Saunders remarks, for a long time he

was an important figure in society and the occasion of a prolonged controversy and may therefore have some claim to have the story of his life written. For our own part we must own that by gathering together all that is ascertainable about Macpherson and his methods and unburdening his mind in print, Mr. Saunders seems to us to have done a good and useful work. Certainly he has made a much needed contribution to history of English literature during the last century. Mr. Saunders is not afflicted with the *lues boswelliana*. He writes without prejudice and has much that is new to tell.

*The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer.* Edited from numerous MSS. by the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt.D., LL.D., M.A. Vols. 3 and 4. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1894.

The first and second volumes of this monumental edition of Chaucer's works have already been noticed in the last number of this *Review*. All that was there said of the ability and learning with which it is being edited is here fully borne out. Mr. Skeat seems to have read everything that has been written about Chaucer and to have an explanation carefully considered and well founded for any difficulty his works present, and one scarcely knows which to esteem most—his wealth of learning, or the admirable use to which he puts it. The amount of information which he has here brought together and condensed is almost amazing, and the student of Chaucer cannot but be grateful that, so far as our present knowledge goes, we have here at last the promise of an edition of his works which is almost, if not all, that can be desired. The pieces contained in the first of the present volumes are 'The House of Fame,' 'The Legend of Good Women,' and the treatise on the 'Astrolabe,' with introduction and notes. In the introduction the editor discusses, as usual, the sources to which Chaucer was indebted, the character and value of the MSS. containing the text, the value of the texts already printed, the forms in which the poems or parts of them have appeared, the metres in which they are written, and the many other matters it is now the custom to treat of in introductions of the kind. The portion of the volume, however, to which the majority of readers will turn first is the last, where we have an elaborate essay on the sources of the *Canterbury Tales*. It runs to over a hundred and thirty pages, and exhibits a masterly skill in the art of condensation, and, unless we are mistaken, contains a larger amount of reliable material on the subject than has ever before been brought together in a single treatise. One principal value of this essay is, that like all the rest of Mr. Skeat's introductions, and not less of the notes in this and the preceding volumes, the references in which they abound direct the reader to other sources of information where the views accepted or rejected are more fully discussed. The fourth volume opens with an introduction giving an account of the sources whence the text of the *Canterbury Tales* has been obtained, and, as might be expected, contains a complete list of MSS. and printed editions. The text is entirely new, in the sense that it owes nothing to previously printed texts, but has been constructed afresh from an independent study of the MSS. Use, however, has been made of such portions as have already been edited by Dr. Skeat in conjunction with Dr. Morris. The labour of construction has, of course, been greatly facilitated by the work done in this connection by Dr. Furnivall for the Chaucer Society. At the beginning of the volume are given three of the Minor Poems of Chaucer which have quite recently been discovered. They are entitled—'Womanly Noblesse,' 'Complaint to my Mortal Foe,' and 'Complaint to my Lode-sterre.' The first was

found by Dr. Skeat in MS. Phillipps 9030, and the others in the MS. Harl. 7578.

*The Idylls of Theocritus, Translated into English Verse.* By JAMES HENRY HALLARD, M.A., Oxon. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1894.

*Mediæval Records and Sonnets.* By AUBREY DE VERE. London: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

*Poems, Sonnets, Songs, and Verses.* By the Author of 'The Professor, and other Poems.' London and New York: George Bell & Sons. 1894.

*Nathan the Wise: A Dramatic Poem in Five Acts.* By G. E. LESSING. Translated by WILLIAM JACKS. Glasgow: Published for the Translator by James Maclehose & Son. 1894.

*The Agnostic, and other Poems.* By GEORGE ANDERSON. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1894.

*The Songs of Thule.* By LAWRENCE JAMES NICOLSON. Same Publisher. 1894.

*Poems, Songs, and Sonnets.* By ROBERT REID (Rob Wanlock). Same Publisher. 1894.

Each of these volumes is more or less deserving of notice. One or two of them are of somewhat exceptional value, and as samples of modern verse-making none of them is without merit. Among the first may be mentioned Mr. Hallard's version of the Idylls of Theocritus, in which he has attempted with considerable success the very difficult task of satisfying the requirements both of the exacting scholar and the man of letters. So far as we have examined them his renderings show the exactness of the scholar and the facility of an expert in English verse. The experiments in hexameters are commendable, but Mr. Hallard has shown a wise discretion in discarding in many of the poems the original metre, and substituting in their place measures to which the English ear is more accustomed. The translation has evidently been a labour of love, and the author has his reward in having produced an enjoyable version of the thoughts and verse of the famous Alexandrian whose feeling for nature was in many respects almost modern.—Mr. Aubrey de Vere's volume divides itself into two parts. In the first he endeavours to reproduce some of the features of the Middle Ages by recounting a number of its legends. The second part consists of a number of sonnets, several of which are under the name of Mr. Browning, and others under those of Cardinals Newman and Manning, Father Damien, and Lord Tennyson. The legends are told with great spirit, more especially those of the Cid. In these the author is at his best. The narratives are condensed, vigorous and picturesque, and here and there lines or descriptions of more than usual strength or beauty occur, as e.g., 'The hand that battles best is hand to rule;' 'Yet greatness flashed from all his acts,' or

' From a string  
Of courtly ladies in the glory clad  
Of silver cloudland when a moon sea-born  
That silver turns to pearl, Ximena moved



Calmly, not quickly without summoning sign,  
 A sister at each hand in weeds night-black  
 And stood before the King. No gems she wore  
 And dark yet star-like shone her large, strong eyes,  
 A queenly presence.'

All the characteristics of the spirit of the Middle Ages Mr. de Vere does not attempt to give. Those he deals with are the moral and religious, and his presentation of these is, to say the least, striking.—The dainty little volume of Poems, etc., by the author of *The Professor and other Poems*, has a large table of contents, but with one or two exceptions, the poems and songs are short, many of them running to not more than a dozen lines, and some of them to still fewer. They are all characterised however by careful workmanship. The most considerable poem in the volume is 'A True Story.' On the whole it is well told, but here and there the diction is a little bald and prosaic. The shorter poems are free from this and are frequently exquisite both in thought and language.—Mr. Jack's translation of Nathan the Wise has the merit of reading well and may be commended as a fairly exact and spirited rendering of the work by which Lessing is probably best known to readers in this country. Archdeacon Farrar contributes an introduction to the volume in which he sketches the life of Lessing and gives an estimate of his worth and influence as a writer. The etchings which embellish the work are by Mr. William Strang.—Mr. George Anderson, formerly one of the members of Parliament for Glasgow, but now we believe a government official of high standing in Australia, has a considerable command of English and is a writer of vigorous verse. 'The Agnostic' reminds us of some of the books in Wordsworth's 'Excursion,' and has probably been fashioned upon them. At all events like Wordsworth in the *Excursion* Mr. Anderson deals with some of the highest themes of human thought. The argument is carried on by Gerald, the agnostic, or perhaps we should say, the doubter, and Edith, the believer. What arguments are used are well put, but Mr. Anderson is careful to warn us that they are not all that can be used nor are they used exhaustively. In the same strain of thought as is followed by Gerald in the 'Agnostic' are the poems 'Of Life and Death.' The spirit of despondent doubt pervades them and adds to their pathos. The rest of the volume is made up for the most part of poems on Scriptural subjects and war poems. Mr. Anderson's friends on this side of the planet will be glad to meet with him in his new character, and though they may not accept all he has to say, to all that is true and human in what he has written—and there is much of both in his volume—they are sure to give a hearty welcome.—Mr. Nicolson's volume deserves commendation. A fine feeling pervades all his verses, while some of them are remarkable for their pathos and beauty. Most of the poems are written in English, but here and there we have one or more in the Scottish or Shetland dialect. But whether he writes in English or Scottish, or in his native Shetland dialect, Mr. Nicolson writes with equal technical skill. His verse is always melodious. That some of his songs have been set to music is not surprising. They are full of emotion of the purest kind.—Mr. Reid, whose volume is the last on our list, hails from Canada, but is a native of the little lead-mining village of Wanlockhead, which is perched away high up among the Lowthers. Notwithstanding his exile he has neither forgotten the soft dialect of his native hills nor lost his love for it. In the many poems he has here written he shows himself deft in its use, and turns its music to excellent account. Among his fellow-poets he is regarded with esteem; and deservedly so. His verses have the true ring about them, and there is no lack of the genuine



poetic vein in his nature. Quotations are here almost impossible, but we may refer to 'Kirkbride,' 'Stormsted,' 'Kilmeny's Warning,' 'The Hinmaist Crichton,' and 'The Spirit of the Moor' as to poems of great merit. One stanza we will take the liberty of transcribing. It is from a beautiful little poem entitled 'A Sprig o' Heather,' and apparently written on receiving a sprig from Scotland:—

'It brings me a glisk o' the bichts and howes  
Whaur grey mists gether,  
Whaur blithe birds sing and the wee burn rows  
In the wilds o' heather;  
The scent o' the sweet thing fills my min'  
Like the croon o' an auld sang kent langsyne,  
And my heart gangs back to the joyfu' days,  
When it's beat was licht as the breeze that strays  
Amang the heather.'

*Pictures from Bohemia Drawn with Pen and Pencil.* By JAMES BAKER, F.R.G.S. Map and Illustrations. London: Religious Tract Society.

To the modern tourist, who is usually supposed to be ubiquitous, Bohemia is little known. In most of its towns and villages an inhabitant of these islands would appear according to all accounts to be almost as rare a sight as he is in some parts of the Dark Continent. This is all the more surprising as it is second to no other part of Europe in the beauty of its natural scenery and its curious remains of mediæval architecture and mediæval life. Mr. Baker writes of it with enthusiasm, and few who read his pages will not desire to visit it. If thrown into a more convenient form, his volume would form a charming guide book to the scenes which he depicts with so much skill, and which his acquaintance with the history and legends of the country enables him to invest with an interest guide books seldom possess. As depicted in his pages, Bohemia wears the appearance of a newly discovered land both on account of its remarkable scenery and singular historic remains as well as on account of the quaint customs and costumes of its inhabitants. Its scenery is often weird beyond description, while its rock-castles and rock-towns carry one back to the times of Hus and to periods still earlier, and remind one of times very different from the present. Among the many excellent volumes which the series to which it belongs contains, Mr. Baker's will take a place distinctly its own. For the charm of novelty it is almost unrivalled.

*Aspects of Modern Study, being University Extension Addresses.* By Various Writers. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

Abstracts of these addresses have from time to time been given, and the public is more or less acquainted with them through the newspapers. Few, however, who have made their acquaintance with them in that way will not be pleased to have them as they have now been published apparently under the editorial care of Mr. Roberts, the energetic secretary of the London Society for the extension of University Teaching. They are the words of men of exceptional ability, and are admirably adapted for their purpose. In the first of the lectures Lord Playfair gives an account of the evolutions of University extension as a part of popular education, and shows that the main purpose of the movement in connection with which the lectures were delivered is not to educate the masses, but to

permeate them with the desire for intellectual improvement, and to show them methods by which they can attain this desire. Canon Browne's address, in which he speaks hopefully of the prospects of the movement, and describes more at length the character and aims of the teaching it is designed to convey, naturally follows. The other lectures are by Mr. Goschen, Mr. John Morley, Sir James Paget, Professor Max Müller, the Duke of Argyll, the Bishop of Durham and Professor Jebb. Dr. Westcott's lecture has already appeared in his volume on *The Incarnation in Common Life*. Mr. Goschen gives some excellent advice on learning, thinking and reading, while Mr. John Morley returns for the time to his old profession, and speaks of the study of literature. The Duke of Argyll in an address remarkable for its breadth of treatment discourses on the application of the historical method to economic science. Professor Jebb deals with the influence of the Greek mind on modern life repeating to some extent the views he has already set forth in *The Growth and Influence of Classical Greek Poetry*. As popular addresses these lectures are in every way admirable, and being published at a nearly nominal price, they should find a very wide circle of readers.

*Walks in Palestine.* By HENRY A. HARPER. Illustrated by sixteen Photogravures from Photographs taken by Cecil V. Shadbolt. New Edition. London: Religious Tract Society. 1894.

*From Darkness to Light in Polynesia.* By W. WYATT GILL, LL.D. Same Publishers. 1894.

*The Sanitary Code of the Pentateuch.* By Rev. C. G. K. GILLESPIE. Same Publishers. 1894.

*Among the Tibetans.* By ISABELLA BIRD BISHOP, F.R.G.S. With Illustrations by Edward Whymper. Same Publishers. 1894.

*The Meeting-Place of Geology and History.* By Sir J. W. DAWSON, C.M.G., LL.D., etc. Same Publishers. 1894.

*Ponds and Rock Pools. With Hints on Collecting for, and the Management of, the Micro-Aquarium.* By HENRY SCHERREN. Illustrated. Same Publishers. 1894.

*Heredity and Personal Responsibility.* By Rev. M. KAUFMANN, M.A. Same Publishers. 1894.

Present Day Primers—*How to Study the English Bible*, by CANON GIRDLESTONE; *A Brief Introduction to New Testament Greek*, by Rev. S. G. GREEN; *A Primer of Assyriology*, by A. H. SAYCE, LL.D. Same Publishers. 1894.

The bill of fare which the Editorial Committee of the Religious Tract Society annually furnish for their numerous readers, is this season unusually varied and attractive. While popular, the books are all of solid interest, and one or two of them possess considerable literary charms. Apart from the interest attaching to it as a description of the most celebrated places in the Holy Land, Mr. Harper's *Walks in Palestine* deserves commendation on account of the admirable photogravures with which it is illustrated, and which have been pronounced by several competent judges

to be finest series of Palestine views yet issued. The volume is a cheaper reproduction of the original work, and contains in addition a brief memoir of Mr. Shadbolt, from whose photographs in Palestine the photogravures are taken. These are beautifully executed, and, as need hardly be said, are in every way much superior to the pictures which are usually published as representing scenes in the Holy Land. Mr. Wyatt Gill's volume will appeal to a very wide circle of readers. His previous works in connection with the South Sea islands are well known and highly appreciated. Here he has taken the traditions and songs of the natives, and, with the aid of his own recollections and observations, extending over a lengthened residence in the Pacific, endeavoured to write the history of Polynesia from the earliest known times down to the present. The traditions, of which there are many, are given, as are also many of the clan songs in which the traditions are preserved. The work is of value both to the antiquary and the folk-lorist not less than to those interested in the success of Christian missions. Most readers, indeed, will find much that is attractive in its pages. The clan songs are quite a feature of the volume. As well as the traditions, they have been taken down from the lips of the natives. Translations accompany the texts. Mr. Gillespie's little volume belongs to the Society's series known as By-paths of Bible Knowledge, and contains a brief account of the legislation contained in the Pentateuch from the point of view of modern sanitary science. *Among the Tibetans* is Mrs. Bishop's latest book, and, like the rest of her books of travel, will not fail to secure numerous readers. It is full of adventure, and its descriptions possess all the charms which one has grown so accustomed to in the works of the far travelled writer. In *The Meeting-place of Geology and History* Sir J. W. Dawson carries the reader back to the origin of human life on the earth, and endeavours as definitely as may be to fix the period in the history of the earth when man first appeared upon it. The problem is of profoundest interest, but is involved in the greatest obscurity. The author is of opinion that 'no fact of science is more certainly established than the recency of man in geological times,' and that though 'the absolute date of his first appearance cannot perhaps be fixed within a few years or centuries, either by chronology or by the science of the earth,' yet it would seem that the Bible history, as well as such hints as we can gather from the history of other nations, limits us to two or three thousand years before the Deluge of Noah.' In the course of his argument Sir J. Dawson makes use of much interesting information, both geological and archaeological, while his aim throughout is to show in how many different ways science confirms the teaching of Scripture in respect to the beginnings of human life. Mr. Scherren's useful little volume will find its way to an increasing class. It is full of hints and information for those who are engaged in studying such forms of life as are to be found in ponds and the pools on the sea-shore. Mr. Kaufmann writes clearly and judiciously on a subject which is gradually attracting considerable notice, and is deserving of careful study. As to the three Present Day Primers mentioned in our list, it is sufficient to say that they have all been carefully drawn up by experts, whose names are a guarantee for their accuracy.

*The Unemployed.* By GEOFFREY DRAGE, Secretary to the Labour Commission. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

The subject of Mr. Drage's volume is very important, and as the Secretary to the Labour Commission, one would naturally suppose that he has had exceptional facilities for examining into it and for arriving at con-

clusions of more than usual authority. With the Report of that Commission Mr. Drage is not at all satisfied, and here and there finds serious fault with it. Into his controversy with the compilers of it we have no wish to enter. Our business is rather with Mr. Drage's volume, which as breaking comparatively new ground and containing much that is informing, may on the whole be commended. Satisfactory in every respect it can scarcely said to be. The historical portions are a little meagre, and his own classification of the unemployed, whatever may be its superiority over that contained in the Report, is too general to be of much use. Still in the first part of the volume which deals with the agencies which have hitherto been employed for the solution of the problem of the unemployed, a good deal of valuable information is brought together, and though more details might have been desirable, it is presented in a concise and lucid way. The least satisfactory part of the volume is the third. Here, besides dealing with the classification of the unemployed, Mr. Drage treats of the number of the unemployed and the causes to which the want of employment is due. To arrive at anything like a fair estimate of the numbers is, under existing circumstance, difficult, and Mr. Drage has been obliged to confine himself to such statistics as were accessible to him, chiefly those furnished by certain of the Trade Societies. As for the unskilled labourers in need of employment numbers are for the most part wanting. The classification adopted by Mr. Drage throws the unemployed into two great sections—those temporarily without regular employment, and those permanently without it. Those of the first section again are divided into two classes—those with a prospect of work within a definite period, and those who have no such prospect. As for those who come within the second section, they are divided into casual labourers and the unemployable, on account of some physical or moral defect. The classification is somewhat rough, and may, so far as it goes, be correct, but it is desirable that a classification entering more into detail should be made. One indicating the causes to which the surplus labour and the failure to obtain labour are due would, if reliable, be of the greatest value. The chapter on the 'Causes of the Problem' is to our way of thinking too indefinite and hypothetical. The effect for instance of strikes in multiplying the ranks of the unemployed is dismissed in a few sentences. Nor is much said as to the way in which one trade is affected by another. It is admitted that strikes may have an injurious effect, and even that the operation of Trades' Unions may, but Mr. Drage is extremely reticent with respect to instances. Most people have arrived at certain conclusions with respect to these things, and what one turns to a book like Mr. Drage's for, is concrete facts. A few of these would have lighted up Mr. Drage's speculations, and made his chapter of greater value. In subsequent chapters a brief but clear account is given of the attempts made to lessen the number of the unemployed, and some of the methods adopted or proposed are freely criticised. Mr. Drage's proposals are by no means heroic; he candidly admits that the solution 'is to be found not so much in any one vast remedy as in a series of smaller remedies, each attacking one or more of the causes which have sufficed either to bring about or to intensify the present problem.' For the remedies suggested, however, we must refer the reader to Mr. Drage's own words. They have been carefully thought out, and are deserving of consideration as the suggestions of one who is entitled to speak with some authority.

#### SHORT NOTICES.

In his little volume, entitled *The Apostles' Creed* (Clay & Sons), Dr. Swete endeavours to meet the attacks which have recently been made on that symbol by Professor Harnack in Germany, and which have still more

recently been popularised in this country by Mrs. Humphry Ward. The German Professor's pamphlet contains nothing that is particularly new, most of what he says having been said before, and Dr. Swete being amply provided with the requisite learning, has no difficulty in meeting his assertions and in arguing against, from the ground of history. Though small, the volume contains much that will be new to the general reader, and deserves to be read as containing something of what may be said on the other side.

Bishop Hedley's volume, entitled *A Retreat* (Burns & Oates), contains twenty-four discourses or meditations with directions, intended to furnish matter for a retreat of eight or ten days. The topics chosen are such as we might expect. They are handled, however, in a much more vigorous way than one is accustomed to in treatises of the kind. Bishop Hedley writes with great skill. His thoughts are suggestive, and there is a force and penetrativeness about them which must make itself felt in the minds of those who read them. The religion of the volume is of the solid, earnest, and practical kind, while the directions given are pointed and searching.

Professor Cowan's *Landmarks of Church History* (A. & C. Black), is one of the Church of Scotland Guild Text Books. It is fairly well arrayed, and carefully compiled, and will take its place as a useful manual. Its real worth can be proved, like that of most books of the kind, only in the hands of an expert teacher.

*The Scottish Songstress* (Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier), by her grand-niece, is a delightful little book in which Mrs. A. R. Simpson records a number of charming reminiscences of her grand-aunt, Caroline, Baroness Nairne.

Lane's *Modern Egyptians* has long been a famous book. As the years go by it will become all the more valuable as recording the manners and customs of a people who, under the influence of Western civilisation, are gradually changing their ways. The present reprint (Alex. Gardner), will help, if such a thing is possible, to make the work more popular. It is handsomely printed, and contains an abundance of illustrations. A brief biographical sketch of the author has been added to the volume. One fact not mentioned, and not generally known, is that the author was offered the honour of knighthood, but declined it, preferring to remain plain Mr. Lane.

*James Macpherson, the Highland Freebooter* (Alex. Gardner), by J. Gordon Phillips, is a thoroughly Scottish story of the old romantic kind. It is full of incident, intrigue, and fighting. The time of the story is the first half of the eighteenth century, and the scene is laid in the north of Scotland. Macpherson, the hero, is partly poet, partly musician, generally a freebooter, and on the whole a not unlikeable character. Lady Ann of Aberlour, the heroine of the story, is remarkably well drawn, and the hardships through which she has to pass on account of the intrigues and doings of Braco, the villain of the piece, enlist one's sympathy. The plot is somewhat intricate, and, as in the old romances, we hear much of secret doors and secret passages, close pursuits, and hairbreadth escapes. On the whole, the story is well told, and carries the reader on at a rapid pace.

Mr. Crockett's contribution to Mr. Fisher Unwin's 'Autonym Library' has for its title *Mad Sir Uchtred of the Hills*. The scene is laid in Galloway, and the foundation of the story seem to be one of those local traditions in which that part of the country is so rich. The reputation won by the author of *The Raiders*, will not in any way be diminished by this



slight, but, on the whole, powerful story. Those who take it up will not be disposed to lay it down till they reach the end.

*William Blacklock, Journalist* (Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier), by T. Banks Maclachlan, is apparently a first venture. There are excellent points about it. Though well drawn, Blacklock is not a character in whom one can take much interest. He is silly and conceited. The heroine, an admirable character and excellently well portrayed, shows her good sense by finally refusing to have anything to do with him. Mr. Maclachlan writes fluently and with skill, and gives promise of doing yet better things.

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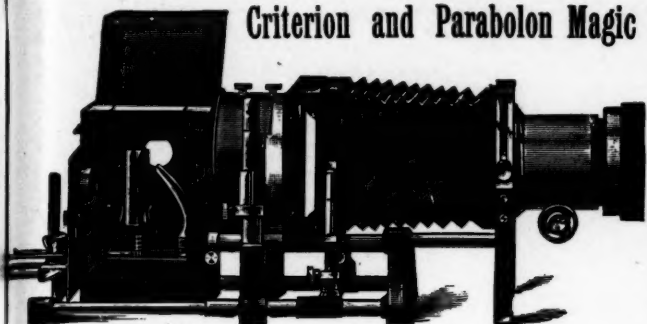
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